The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

Vol. XIII] JANUARY, 1923 [No. 2

KALPA-SUTRAS AND APASTAMBA.

By B. V. Kamesvara Aiyer, Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S.

Sūtra literature falls under two broad heads: (1) the sūtras of the *shaḍ-darśanas*,* (the six systems of Indian philosophy) and (2) the Kalpa sūtras. It is not easy to decide which is earlier. It is however probable, as pointed out by Dr. G. Bühler,† that some of the later authors of the Kalpasūtra, like Āpastamba, were acquainted with the pūrva and the uttara mīmāmsā, the latter of which presupposes the other philosophical systems. Of these six systems, five do not concern themselves with the Karma-Kāṇda (ritualistic portion) of the Vedas. The pūrva-mīmāmsā sūtra of Jaimini alone occupies itself with the Karma-Kāṇda and lays down the canons which apply to the interpretation of Vedic texts and which have been accepted by the uttara mīmāmsā or Vedānta and applied by it to the interpretation of Upanishadic texts. Excepting the pūrva mīmāmsā, there is little in common between the darśana-sūtras and the Kalpa-sūtras.

The Kalpa-sūtra constitutes one branch of the Vedāngas, out of the six branches ‡ of knowledge which are considered necessary for the correct

* Nyāya and Vaiśeshaka, Sānkhya and Yoga, pūrva and uttara mīmāmsā.

† S. B. E., Vol. II, Introduction.

‡ These are *Sikshā* (phonetics), *Vyākarana* (grammar), *Chhandas* (metrics), *Nirukta* (etymology and explanation of Vedic words), *Jyotisha* (astronomy) and *Kalpa* (rituals).

understanding of the Vedas. The main divisions of a Kalpa-sūtra are three :—(1) *Śrauta* which, digesting and arranging the teaching of the Vedic Samhitās and Śākhās, lays down rules for the performance of the several sacrifices in the three Vedic fires, (2) *Gṛihya*, which lays down rules for the performance of the rites like *Upanayana*, *Vivāha* and *Śrāddha* in the gṛihya (*aupāsana*) fire and (3) *Dharma or Sāmayāchārika*, which summarises the teachings of the Vedas and the practice of the wise and learned with regard to the duties of the several *varṇas* and *āśramas* and the penances and penalties for dereliction of duties.

At one time, there appear to have been many complete works treating of all the three divisions of the Kalpa. A great many of them have been lost, their authors* being quoted or referred to by the later Sūtrakāras. The existing Kalpa sūtras are (1) for the Rig Veda, Śankhāyana and Āśvalāyana whose works, as now extant, are confined to the śrauta and the gṛihya, (2) for the Sāma Veda, Lātyāyana and Drāhyāyana (śrauta), Gobhila and Khādira (gṛihya) and Gautama (dharma), (3) for the Śukla Yajurveda Kātyāyana (śrauta), Pāraskara (gṛihya), (4) for the Krishṇa Yajurveda (Baudhāyana and Āpastamba (all the three branches), Bhāradvāja and Satyāshāḍha Hiraṇyakeśin (gṛihya). Pāṇini speaks of the ancient Brahmaṇas and Kalpas (पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु) in one of his Sūtras (IV—3, 105) thereby making us understand that in his time there were Brāhmaṇas and Kalpa Sūtras which were regarded as ancient and others which were considered as later. Some of the Kalpa Sūtras would thus go back to very nearly the times of the Brāhmaṇas, while the latest of them, which have no scruples about flesh-eating, must be earlier than, say, the fourth century B.C., the period when the Jain and Buddhist tenets began to have sway.

Baudhāyana and Āpastamba, both of the Taittirīya Śākhā, are the only authors whose works comprise the complete Kalpa ritual. While Baudhāyana's Kalpa Sūtra cannot be said to be free from later interpolations and additions, Āpastamba's is singularly free from such tampering, as has been conclusively shown by Dr. G. Bühler; hence the peculiar interest which attaches to Āpastamba for the critical student. Āpastamba appears to belong to the Dekhan (probably the Āndhra country) and Baudhāyana would also appear to belong to or at any rate, to be acquainted with the Dekhan. Most of the Taittirīyas of South India belong to the school of Āpastamba; of the rest, the majority are Baudhāyanas, while a few belong to the schools of Bhāradvāja or Hiraṇyakeśin.

The Kalpa-Sūtra of Āpastamba consists of thirty praśnas or chapters.

* *E.g.* Hārīta, Kāṇva, Kautsa, Pushkarasādi, Sātyāyana, Māṇḍūkeya, *vide* Ap : Dh : Ś. I—10—28—1, etc.

The first twenty-four treat of the several Śrauta sacrifices; the twenty-fifth * contains the *paribhāshās* (axioms and postulates), the *pravara-Khaṇḍa* (the pedigree of āchāryas) and the *hautraka* (prayers to be recited by the *hotraka* priests). The twenty-sixth is the mantra-praśna (or ekāgnikāṇḍa) which contains the Vedic texts and prayers to be used in the gṛihya rites. The twenty-seventh is the gṛihya Sūtra which lays down the rules of the gṛihya rites in the order of the mantras in the preceding praśna. The next two praśnas constitute the Dharma Sūtra. The thirtieth contains the *Śulba* sūtra, which lays down the geometrical rules for construction of the sacrificial altar, etc.

In his Catalogue, Dr. Burnell mentions that sometimes two praśnas, treating of the *paitrimedhika* (funeral) rites were counted as the thirty-first and thirty-second praśnas. But till of late, Āpastamba's sūtra on the Pitṛimedha was known only by name and many orthodox pandits went so far as to assert that Āpastamba himself wrote no Sūtra on the subject, that it was Bhāradvāja that wrote a Sūtra on funeral rites and this work was sometimes known as or talked of as Āpastamba's.

The late M. M. Gaṇapati Sāstrin, of the Tanjore District, succeeded in getting some manuscript copies of Āpastamba's Pitṛimedha Sūtra with two commentaries, one by the earlier and famous Kapardisvāmin and the other by one Gopāla Paṇḍita and in 1906, he published in Grantha the Sūtra of Āpastamba and Kapardin's bhāshya, extracts from that of Gopāla and a commentary of his own, explaining also the Vedic texts connected with the rites along with the *Apara-prayoga* of Āṇḍa Pillai. As Āpastamba's Pitṛimedha Sūtra is not likely to be known to Sanskritists in India or outside a short description of it may not be uninteresting.

The work consists of two praśnas and as there is no indication that it was meant as the last two chapters of Āpastamba's Kalpa Sūtra, it must be supposed that this work did not form part of the Kalpa Sūtra and that it was, therefore, a separate treatise. There would also be a sentimental objection, from the Indian standpoint, to close a great work like the Kalpa Sūtra with a description of the inauspicious funeral ceremonies.† The remarks at the end of each paṭala of Kapardi-bhāshya run thus—श्रीमदापस्तंबपितृमेधसूत्रविवरणे ....पटलस्य ....खण्ड:—without connecting the work with the great body of the Kalpa Sūtra. It would be thus legitimate to presume that Āpastamba composed this *apara* sūtra as a separate treatise, intending by it to complete the exposition

* Max Müller notes that the Prayogaratnamālā of Chūḍappa, who is said to have been minister of Vīrabhūpati, son of the famous King Bukka of Vijayanagara, states 'चतुर्विंशे तथाप्रश्ने न्यायप्रावरहौत्रके' S.B.E., Vol. XXX, pp. 312 & 313. If so, how are the thirty praśnas accounted for?

† Some Sūtra writers like Āśvalāyana and Pāraskara treat of the pitṛimedha in the body of their Gṛihya-Sūtras.

of all Vaidik rites which a twice-born Ârya had to go through in the course of his life.

The first prasna of the Pitṛimedha Sūtra consists of four paṭalas or sections. The first two paṭalas treat of the ceremonies to be performed on the eve of death and on the first day of demise—the selection of the burning-ground, the washing, dressing and carrying of the dead body to the burning-ground, the offering of the body on the funeral pyre with solemn rites and prayers and the return-home of the mourners after bath; they consist of eight khaṇḍas and 138 sūtras; the mantras to be used are mostly taken from the fourth prapāṭhaka of the Taittirīya Âraṇyaka, the texts being indicated by the pratīkas or commencing words. The third paṭala consisting of two khaṇḍas and 28 sūtras treats of the second day's ceremony, the collection of bones and the daily offerings up to the tenth day. The first two khaṇḍas of the fourth paṭala (55 sūtras) treat of the tenth day's ceremony closing with the *Śānti* and *Ānanda homas* which mark the end of mourning; the third khaṇḍa treats of the special variations of the rite, that appertain to *brahma-medha samskāra*, a mode of the disposal of the dead who are considered holy and spiritually advanced.

The second praśna is a single paṭala with two khaṇḍas and 19 sūtras. It treats of the ceremonies connected with the depositing in an altar of clod (*loshṭa-chiti*) of the urn of bones of those who were offered up in the Kāṭhaka fire.* There is nothing in the Grantha (and the only) edition to show that there is a second praśna at all. This praśna has no bhāshya. Kapardin's commentary ends with the first praśna, the colophon running

इति श्रीमदापस्तंबपितृमेधसूत्रविवरणे चतुर्थपटलस्य तृतीयः खण्डः' पटलश्च समाप्तः ॥

The editor has, however, printed the sūtras separately at the end of the volume, where we come across these two khaṇḍas, following the third khaṇḍa of paṭala IV. Comparing these sūtras with the corresponding portion of Āṇḍapillai's Apara-prayoga and with the colophon in Kapardin's bhāshya, and having in mind the tradition that Āpastamba Pitrimedha Sūtra has two praśnas, one is led to conclude that these two khāṇḍas formed the second praśna. The rite treated of in this praśna has long become obsolete and Kapardi-Svāmin's omission to notice or explain this portion can, therefore, be easily understood.

A word as to the commentaries on Āpastamba Sūtra. His Śrauta Sūtra is commented on by Rudradatta. Whether he is the same as Haradatta who has commented on the Mantra† praśna, the Gṛihya, and the Dharma Sūtra or different from him cannot be decided conclusively. If we are to rely on the

* Sāvitra, etc., treated of in the Kaṭha praśnas (X—XII) of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.
† S. B. E., Vol. XXX, p. 313.

mangala ślokas of the bhâshyas, we have to conclude that they are different, Rudradatta invoking the aid of Vishṇu (श्रीवत्सवक्षसः) while beginning his commentary on the Śrauta Sūtra whereas Haradatta begins his commentaries on the Mantra-praśna and the Dharma Sūtras with prostrations to Mahādeva. It is well known that Sanskrit authors while commencing their works, invoke *only* their *ishṭa-devatās.* Kapardi-Svāmin has commented on the Paribhāshā-paṭala (Pr. xxv) and the Pitṛi-medha Sūtra (Pr. I.). Kapardin's fame as a commentator is great as attested by the familar saying यत्कृतं वेदवत् भाष्यं आद्रियन्ते विपश्चितः । सकपर्दी चिरं जियात् ॥ etc. He has perhaps commented on the other parts of Āpastamba's Kalpa-Sūtra; but his work, if any, is probably lost. Prof. Max Müller notes that a MSS. (1127, now 307) in the India Office Library, dated Sāka 1556 contains both Kapardin's commentary on the Paribhāshā paṭala and Āṇḍapillai's Prayoga-vṛitti. If so, both these writers must be earlier than the seventeenth century. Dr. Burnell on whom Max-Müller relies would appear to think that Kapardin and Āṇḍapillai are one and the same person. The two are different writers. Kapardin's work is a *bhāshya.* Āṇḍapillai has not written any *bhāshya* on Āpastamba. He has written only *vṛittis,* wherein he has adapted and reproduced Āpastamba's sūtras, modifying, enlarging and elucidating them so as to meet modern Vaidik requirements. His prayoga vṛittis (manuals of procedure) have now replaced Āpastamba's śrauta, grihya and pitṛimedha sūtras. Āṇḍapillai is a Tamil name; more fully the name is Āṇḍa-pilliār (Ganeśa who saved). Probably he was named after the elephant-faced deity of his village. In his works, he calls himself not by his Tamil and familiar name, but by his Sanskrit śarman—Tālabrindanivāsin, the colophon to his works running

'इत्यापस्तंबीयपितृमेधप्रयोगवृत्तौ तालबृन्द (or तालवृन्त) निवासिनाकृतायां' etc.

Max Müller observes, "he (Dr. Burnell) states that according to tradition the author* was a native of Southern India, called Āṇḍappillai,† and that Tālabrinda or Tālavṛinta is a translation of the Tamil *panai-kkāṭu,* a very common name for villages among palmyra trees (panai=palmyra; kāṭu=forest)." Perhaps so. But it is unusual for a writer to designate himself by the name of his village or leave no clue as to his true śarman. In the Tamil districts, he is simply called Āṇḍapillai.

---

* Here Dr. Burnell is confounding Āṇḍapillai with Kapardin.

† The double *pp* is incorrect in Tamil.

MYSORE CASTES AND TRIBES.

BY MR. C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

(*Continued from Vol. XIII, p. 486.*)

RESTRICTIONS ON MARRIAGE.

(*a*) Linguistic, Territorial and other.

A similar custom appears to prevail among the Sādas. Among them the marriage takes place in the new husband's village, to which the widow repairs. She lodges in a temple for the time being. The would-be husband goes there with some of his castemen and presents her with a new cloth and a bodice cloth which she wears. Glass bangles are put on her wrists, and in the presence of the assembled castemen, the man, or as in some places a remarried widow, ties the *tāli* to her. Meanwhile the man's house is vacated and rendered dark for the occasion and the man himself is made to sit in it in a corner. The woman is conducted to this place, and as soon as she enters it, the man asks her why she has come there. She replies, "I have come to light a lamp in your dark house." Then a light is lit, and the whole function ends with a caste dinner.

Among the Upparas the ceremony cannot in some places take place even in the father's village. It usually takes place in a different village, from which the couple do not return to their own village for some time. The ceremony is performed either in a temple or in an unoccupied house. The day fixed for it is usually during the dark fortnight. The woman is seated in a dark place, beside the door. The would-be husband pays down the bride-price, goes to the spot where the woman sits and ties the *tāli*. The caste headman or beadle sprinkles rice on the couple and in some places gives three strokes with a rattan to the woman and declares that they have become husband and wife, repeating the words: "In the presence of the elder Guru, in the presence of the kinsmen, this woman is given to you as wife. If you fail her, you will be liable to punishment." Remarking on the existence of similar customs elsewhere in India, Sir Edward Gait says:

"It has been suggested that there is a spirit basis for the rule that the marriage of a widow must take place at night in the dark half of the month, namely, the belief that the spirit of the first husband may be enraged at his widow marrying again and the consequent desire to evade his notice. It has also been suggested that a bachelor marrying a widow first performs a mock marriage with some plant or other object in the belief that the new husband's first wife would ordinarily be the main object of the spirit's revenge, and that a man not previously married might be attacked himself unless he provides a bogus wife as a substitute.

An objection to this theory is that the dark half of the month is specially associated with spirits, and that the night is the very time when they return to earth. The mock marriage of a bachelor

seems rather to be intended to bring him on the same level with the widow. The Punjab Superintendent suggests that the real object in view in selecting the time mentioned for a widow's marriage is to prevent the Gods from knowing about it; the dead of night and the dark half of the month are particularly disagreeable to the Gods, and all worship is forbidden between midnight and 4 A.M. On the other hand, certain customs exist which support the theory. In the Central Provinces a second wife of the Chitari caste worships the spirit of the dead first wife, offering it some food and a breast cloth, in order to placate it and prevent it from troubling her. In the Punjab, the death of subsequent wives is often believed to be caused by the angry spirit of the first; and for this reason, amongst the Aroras of the Western Punjab, the subsequent wife, at the time of her marriage, wears round her neck the picture of the first, or a paper on which her name is written, thus identifying herself with her predecessor. The Koltas of Sambalpur believe that a bachelor marrying a widow would become an evil spirit after death if he did not first go through a mock marrying of the kind described above.

The real explanation may be much simpler. Sometimes there is a rule that ordinary marriages must take place during the bright half of the month so that the moon may witness them. As widow marriage is looked down on, the converse rule may simply mean that the ceremony, being of a less reputable character, is one which the moon should not witness."

Brahman Influence.

Though, as we have seen above, sexual licence within the caste is tolerated to a certain extent, still female chastity is highly prized among the generality of castes and tribes in the State. This may be due to long contact with Brahmanism which has long inculcated the belief that marriage is a sacrament. Among those castes which have been largely influenced by this idea, even widow marriage has ceased to exist. In some castes, while it is favoured by some sections, others look askance at it. Among Morasu Vokkaligas, even child widows cannot remarry. Pre-marital licence is falling into disfavour. It is not tolerated among the Gangadi and Morasu Holeyas. Among them if a girl becomes pregnant before marriage she is put out of caste. The odium lasts even after death and to ensure a proper burial of her body, such a woman sets apart a sum of money (about Rs. 12) during her lifetime. Even among Banjaras, pre-marital intercourse is put down with a high hand. The Nayak of the Thunda had until recently power to subject the seducer in a case of that sort to ignominious treatment, shaving his head on one side and parading him in the street on the back of a donkey. This, however, is now out of date, and in its place, a heavy fine, as much as Rs. 100, is imposed on the man, who, besides, is made to pay compensation to the parents of the girl of an equal sum. Among the Gare section of the Upparas, a woman guilty of immorality is thrown out of caste. Similar expulsion from the caste is the fate of a woman soiling the bed of her lord among the Ganigas, Devangas and Nagartas. Among many castes, though, in theory, a woman may remain unmarried, she hardly ever does so, or is ever allowed to do so, as, for instance, in Malabar. Among certain castes such a single state of blessedness has its penalties provided ready for it. For instance, among the Bedars and some other castes, a woman dying without

marriage is carried by men without a bier and is interred—like tender babes in this respect—with the face downwards, no funeral ceremonies being observed. To avoid treatment of this kind among some castes (notably the Holeyas) a girl who cannot get married from the absence of suitors, is married to trees, such as Honge (*Pongamia Glabra*), Ekke (*Calatropis Gigantea*) or the Margosa or other inanimate object and dedicated to shrines. She then may consort with any member of the caste and has all the rights of a son in her father's family. Marriage is thus rendered compulsory amongst the generality of castes. Divorce, though easy, is not common. There is thus reason to believe that the relations between the sexes in the State are becoming steadily more regular.

The restrictions on marriage are many among the generality of castes and tribes. A man must not marry outside the limits of his caste and if he is, as it often happens a member of a sub-caste, he may not marry outside the particular sub-caste. Occasionally too he may be able to take a girl from a particular sub-caste, but not give one to it. It not infrequently happens he may and does marry with particular sub-castes and not with others. In the case of several castes (*e.g.*, Kurubas, Holeyas, Agasas, Komati, Uppara, Kumbara, Banjara, Sadas, Handi Jogi, Nagarta, Telugu Banajigas and Devanga), linguistic, territorial, religious and occupational differences prove effectual bars to inter-marriages. Among these, religion (excepting the Lingayat which always create a sharp line of difference) is seen to be the least harmful. In a very few cases, very trivial differences in the mode of pursuing the same occupation lead to the creation of additional bars to marriage. Thus among the Helavas, a begging caste, found all over the State, those who use a metal bell do not intermarry with those who use a wooden bell. Then, again, the metal bells are divided into those who sit on a bull while begging and those who have given up the bull while going their rounds. The Besthas who live by agriculture, fishing and palanquin-bearing respectively form separate endogamous groups. Similarly among the Gangadi Vokkaligas, found in the western and southern parts of the State, the mode of carrying marriage articles has led to the formation of two endogamous divisions—those who use open boxes and those who use covered boxes.* Occasionally differences in diet have had the effect of separating part of the caste and making it a strictly endogamous unit by itself. Thus the Cheluru Gangadikaras, who are pure vegetarians, marry only among themselves. Then, again, most castes are further divided into groups consisting of persons supposed to be descended

---

* Among the Kavadigas of Chingleput Dt.—a caste of curd sellers who emigrated from Mysore during Haidar's time—those who carry bamboo baskets do not marry with those who use rattan baskets.

from a common ancestor and so forbidden to intermarry. A man is therefore exogamous as regards his family group and endogamous as regards his caste or sub-caste. While endogamy is the essence of the caste system, exogamy is found amongst primitive communities all over the world and in Hinduism is, as Edward Gait suggests, probably a survival from an earlier culture. Descent, throughout the State, being traced through the male, the general rule is that a man may not marry a girl of his own exogamous group. In this State, contrary to what prevails elsewhere, the limits set by exogamy do not extend to the families of both the parents, nor do they extend to the families of a man's maternal uncle or paternal aunt. Among most castes, as we have seen, a man marries his sister's daughter or has her for his son. Cross-cousin marriage is the general rule in the State. The connection between this and mother-right has been referred to above. It is only in rare cases—as among the Komatis—that the rule of "turning the creeper back" prevails. According to this rule, known as *Éduru Ménarikam*, a girl who has been married into a family cannot ever after give a girl in marriage to her father's family. In the same caste, the rule that the bride and the bridegroom should not belong to the same Gotra (or sept) prevails. Similarly, we have already noted the fact that some castes allow a widower to marry his younger sister's daughter if he cannot otherwise wed. As elsewhere, among the Brahmans, these exogamous groups are generally eponymous, each group or Gotra being supposed to consist of the descendants of one or other of the Vedic Rishis. Gotras with similar names are found among a few of the other castes (*e.g.*, Komati, Bestha, Sale, etc.) but the exact nature of their connection to the groups professedly belonging to them is not clear. It is possible that thay trace their descent not directly to the Rishis whose names they bear but from their priests who originally administered to them and who belonged to these Gotras. It may be also, as suggested by Sir Edward Gait, that they trace their descent from members who originally belonged to these Gotras. This is one of those questions that still requires careful investigation, as indeed a great deal more of the many points relating to exogamy as practised among the castes and tribes of the State. Our present knowledge does not enable us to say how far exogamy is absolutely primitive and how far copied from other sources. Many castes and even sub-castes have headmen of comparatively modern times as the reputed ancestors of their exogamous sections. This is the case among the Banjaras, Nagartas, Kadu Gollas, Agasas, Tigalas, Sanyasis, Idigas among whom marital restrictions are of a most complicated character. Some groups are named after the places where the founders originally resided or are supposed to have resided. Probably the origin of "house names" is to be explained on some such basis as this. This is especially the case,

among the immigrant castes, such as the Dombaras, Idigas, Nagartas, etc. Finally there are the totemistic groups which are found chiefly among castes of the tribal type. Traces of totemism are also found among other castes as well, but further investigation is necessary for any general inferences to be drawn from them. For instance, we cannot say from the evidence now available whether those castes which retain traces of totemism were originally tribes who slowly drifted into the orbit of Brahmanism. If so, several castes, including the Holeya, Kuruba, Bestha, Bili Magga, Kadu Gollas, Medara, Golla, Kumbara, Helava, Gangadi Vokkaliga, etc., were before their absorption into Brahmanism, in all probability in the tribal state of existence with totemism in full swing among them. Totemism as it exists in the State is of the genuine type. The totem is usually some animal or inanimate object (vegetable, flower, sun, moon, stone, etc.) formerly held in reverence by the members of the sept and associated with some taboo. Among several of the castes first mentioned those belonging to the same totem do not intermarry. Among some castes Gotras reminiscent of the Vedic Rishis have been adopted but as among the Besthas, who have adopted the Koundinya and Kasyapa Gotras, and the Sales, who have adopted Markandeya as their single Gotra, the incorporation is meaningless, as the Gotras are not effective as bars to intermarriage. Among these, on the other hand, totemism is not altogether dead and the association of Rishi Gotras with them seems to be an attempt at engrafting the Brahman system on to the decaying tribal one. Among certain castes totemism is practically dead, such as Madiga, Handi Jogi, Mondaru, Killekyata, Nagarta, etc. Among certain castes only those living in particular areas (*e.g.*, Helavas in the Mysore District) and Gangadi Vokkaligas (in Mysore and Bangalore) have anything like totemistic septs, the others having lost it. Among non-Lingayat Sadas, there are the flower men and the *Pamgamia Glabra* men, but this division has no significance in connection with marriage. It follows from this that those castes which do not now exhibit any traces of totemism might have practised it at one time though they dropped it later. Such dropping might have been in some cases, as among the Sales, Besthas, etc., preceded by the conversion of totem names into those of Vedic Rishis, for example Kach Chap, (Tortoise) into Kasyapa. Among the Komatis totemism is partially active, two or three totem septs being included in a Gotra. While the oneness of a Gotra is no bar to intermarriage, the oneness of the Sept is. This shows clearly that the addition of the Rishi Gotras is a recent attempt at engrafting two different systems of culture. The Devangas have adopted some Rishi Gotras but the fact that some of these are not of the Vedic type is rather significant (*e.g.*, Bhaskara, Pippala Malika, etc.).

Totemism.

The evidence, such as it is, warrants the general deduction that at one time totemism was widely prevalent among the people of the State. It has the usual belief associated with it here—those belonging to a particular system profess to be descended from it, reverence it in daily life in a variety of ways and regard that those attached to a totem (called locally *Kula* or *Bédagu*) should refrain from intermarriage. Such a connection is considered incestuous and brings on expulsion from the caste. Thus among the Kurubas, who are divided into a large number of totemistic septs, the commonest totems are among animals, the she-buffalo and the goat which are neither killed nor eaten by members of the groups belonging to them and the elephant which is not ridden by them; among trees the Banyan, the Indian Fig, the *Ficus Infectonia*, the wood apple, the *Prosopis Specigera*, the Margosa, the Sandal-wood tree, the *Pinus Deodara*, the peepul, the tamarind, the *Phyllanthus Emblica*, etc., which are neither cut nor burnt nor their products (oil or cake in the case of Margosa) used nor indeed do the people belonging to the septs named after them consent to sit under them or cross their shadows; among plants the kitchen herb, the *Celosia Albida*, the *Phaseolus Radiatus*, which those belonging to them abstain from eating; jasmine, pepper, *Calatropis Gigantea* which those belonging to them refrain from cutting, cultivating or using; among the heavenly bodies, the sun and the moon; among other living beings, the ant, the fish, the cobra, the peacock, the rabbit and the scorpion; and among other inanimate objects are the drum, cage, cart, silver, gold, flint-stone, arrow, knife, bier, pickaxe, Bengal gram, pumpkin, pearl, ocean, pestle, glass bangles, conch-shell, salt, weaver's shuttle, etc. In the case of all these the object after which a totem is named is not used for any purpose, domestic or other. For instance, as regards the gold and silver and glass bangle septs, the woman belonging to these septs do not use jewels made of these precious metals or use glass-bangles but instead wear bell-metal ones. People of the sun sept will observe some sort of fast if the sun does not appear as usual and even pray for his appearance on cloudy days; in the case of the cobra, scorpion, etc., they are not killed but are let off when observed. People of the pestle sept do not use it but have instead a wooden hammer. The saffron and horsegram septs have transferred their allegiance to the panic seed and the jungle pepper as these things are of every day use. All the same the people of these septs do not grow saffron and the horsegram. The Holeyas have very similar totems, besides the earth, the crow-bar, the plantain, the cuckoo, the oil mill, lightning, pigeon, peacock, betel leaf, etc. Those belonging to the sept Nagale, a kind of thorn, do not, when pierced by a thorn, pull it off themselves but request one of

another sept to help them out of the difficulty. Among the Bedas similar septs prevail with some few additions, bug, pig, ox, the seven mountains (of Tirupati), etc. The Besthas have besides septs named after coral, etc. The Komatis have as many as 101 septs including the lotus, the lime-fruit, the gourd, bamboo, brinjal, cardamom, camphor, etc. The Bili Maggas are said to have as many as sixty-six including the Brahman kite, milk, the *Pandamus Odorotissima*, horse, sparrow, tank, paddy, rope, etc.; the Sales have an equally large number of totems including dagger, drum, mountain, nail, indigo plant, etc. The Vaddas have likewise septs, some of which are the pig, mortar, margosa, salt, buffalo, etc.; while the Nayindas have the horse, *Pongamia Glabra*, jessamine, peacock, saffron, chrysanthemum, *aehryranthus aspera*, etc. The Kadu Gollas have three primary exogamous septs, two of which are named after the bear and the moon, each of these being again subdivided into different exogamous septs, the first of which includes the bear and the pot; the second among others of the moon, he-buffalo and the milk-hedge, and the third includes the pestle, gram, hoe, etc. The Morasu Vokkaligas have a varied number of totems of which may be mentioned the Banyan, wood-apple, pomegranate, *Pongamia Glabra*, the bastard teak, plantain, *Basia Latifolia*, mango, cocoanut among trees; the elephant, jackal, goat and the tortoise among the animals; jasmine and chrysanthemum among flowers; black among the colours (men of this sept do not keep black bullocks and the women belonging to it do not wear black bangles or black clothes) and the ant hill and conch shell and silver among inanimate objects. The Madigas, among whom totemism seems to be decaying, possess, among other totems, silver, bow, umbrella, ants, gold, tatler, bear, tortoise, jessamine, tiger, saffron etc.; the Gollas have monkey, spotted cow, saffron, peafowl, tree, mustard, lion, horsegram, deodar tree, gold, sandal, etc.; the Upparas own a large number of totems which are the palanquin, elephant, saffron, moon, umbrella, coriander, *Pongamia Glabra*, pearl, jackal, jessamine, dagger, etc. The Helavas living in the Mysore District have among others the peepul tree, cobra, banyan, mortar, pestle and light, which last those belonging to the sept do not extinguish by blowing it out from the mouth. The Gangadi Vokkaligas living in certain parts of the State have totems which include the moon, silver, gold, buffalo, cat, *Pongamia Glabra*, fig tree, etc. Finally, the Lingayat Sadas are divided into as many as thirty-three septs some of which are the arecanut, pigeon-pea, butter, cobra, stone, chrysanthemum, jessamine, lime fruit, etc.

So far as enquiries have gone, there is in the State only one caste which shows any trace of that earlier form of restriction on marriage which divided the primitive tribe into two exogamous classes or phratries, the men of each

phratry forming alliance with the other. This single caste is the Bili Magga, which is divided into sixty-six exogamous septs divided into two groups respectively known as the Siva and the Parvati group or the male and the female group, each group comprising of 33 totemistic septs. According to the custom prevailing, a Siva cannot marry a Siva nor a Parvati a Parvati—which it is said would be absurd not only because they belong to the same major division but also because they cannot marry one of the same sex! The Garos of Assam have similar divisions among them. It is a highly primitive division and has not therefore survived among the generality of the castes and tribes of the State. These are, however, some notable instances of a twofold exogamous division. Thus the Kadu Gollas and the Komatis have several main exogamous divisions with a number of sections (often totemistic) in each. The rule of exogamy applies to the major group as well as to the minor.

In this connection a suggestion of some importance is thrown out by Sir Edward Gait, which, having regard to the speculation which the origin of the Right hand and Left hand castes has given rise to, is worth closer attention. Writing of the double exogamous division found in certain castes, Sir Edward Gait remarks that "the question suggests itself whether the division of many Madras Castes into right hand and left hand sections may not be a survival of a dual exogamous grouping which existed before the development of the caste system. At the present time the whole of a caste usually belongs to one and the same section but this is not always the case with Pallans and Chakkiliyans, the men belong to the left hand and the women to the right hand section. The Kaikolans belong to the left hand section but their Dasis usually to the right hand one. The Chaliyans and Dasis have right hand and left hand sub-castes. There is a close bond between the castes of the same section; and the lower 'right-hand' castes select their headman from the Balija, and not from their own caste." This is a line of enquiry which merits further attention. That the division is older than caste itself may also be inferred from the fact that regular respect is paid to the 18 phanas at most marriages in the State, *e.g.*, Agasa, Vadda, Dombar, Golla, Killekyata and Handi Jogis. That the ceremony which is connected with this should be made part of the marriage ceremony which, in the case of most castes and tribes, is perhaps the most important one, is significant. Marriage ceremonies as they exist now enshrine some of the most primitive practices of the tribe to which they relate and it is therefore of special interest to note this respect to the groups forming the right-hand and left-hand castes. The ceremony alluded to is known as the *Gaddige* or *Simhasana Puje* *i.e.*, the worship of the throne. On the third day of the marriage a black blanket is done into eight folds and spread on a plank before the seats of the

couple. This is known as the *Gaddige.* Betel leaves are arranged in a circle on it with arecanuts placed in a heap in the centre. Round the heap are kept lumps of consecrated cowdung ashes and the bell and the spoon, the insignia of the 18 phana people are brought by the Chalavadi and kept on the Gaddige. After the married couple worship it, the betel leaves and the arecanuts placed in the heap are distributed in the known order of precedence to all the assembled persons.

Hypergamy

Hypergamy, or the rule according to which when a caste is divided into several sections of different status (frequently the result of a different origin) parents are obliged to marry their daughters into an equal or higher section to avoid being dragged down to the status of the section in which their daughter marries, is practically absent in the State. Among the Madigas, the priestly section, termed Jambavas, do not give their daughters to men of lower status. Though this has been termed "a genuine case of hypergamy" it cannot be deemed so, for as Sir Edward Gait well remarks "there is no widespread demand on the part of the lower section to secure husbands from the higher, and it is this which constitutes the essence of hypergamy."

Marital Age

Except among the Brahmans and those closely following them in this matter (*e.g.*, Komatis, Sales, Namadhari, Nagartas, etc.) marriage is usually adult. Among most, however, it may be before or after puberty, though it is generally after. Among the Brahmans the tendency to postpone marriage as much as possible is very pronounced just now. The Infant Marriage Regulation has to some extent checked the inordinate desire to marry mere infants so much prevalent at one time among Brahmans, Komatis and a few other castes.

FORMS OF MARRIAGE

(*a*) Purchase of Bride

Among the Brahmans and those following them, *e.g.*, Nagartas, the all but universal rule is to give away the bride as a gift to a suitable bridegroom. The bride too is decked in jewels before being presented at the expense of her parents. Similarly until recently, the bridegroom, who pretended to be a pilgrim student on his way to Benares, was not paid by the bride's parents. But for some years past with the increase in the cost of education and competition for well-educated sons-in-law the habit of paying—sometimes heavily—for them has come into existence. In the State, there are instances of payments ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 2,000 and even more for an educated bridegroom. A more refined feeling is beginning to show itself but it will be sometime perhaps before it can become anything like strong. Among the other tribes

and castes, it is the bride that is always paid for. The amount varies with each caste, from Rs. 12 among the Tigalas to as much as Rs. 500 among Lingayat Ganigas and the Devangas. Most castes, however, are content to bide by the ancient custom in the matter and do not arbitrarily raise the amount. This amount apparently was much more than now, if some of the stories current among some castes and tribes are to be believed (*e.g.*, Korachas, Banjaras, Gollas, etc.) but owing to changed circumstances it has been lowered to enable people to marry at the proper age. The usual amount among the generality of castes is somewhere between Rs. 12 and 24 (*e.g.*, Kuruba, Holeya, Beda, Bestha, Vadda, Nayinda, Dombar, Kadu Golla, Sanyasi, Madiga, Idiga, Medar, Golla, Uppara, Telugu Banajigas, etc.). Among the Bili Magga and Sale castes it is Rs. 24; the Kurubas pay from Rs. 25 to 50; the Gangadi Vokkaligas pay from Rs. 20 to 35; and the Handi Jogis from Rs. 10 to 40 and one pig. Among the Korachas, it varies from Rs. 60 to 72 and as the amount is far too high for their means, it is not uncommon among them to spread its payment over a number of years. The Mondaru only pay Rs. 6, the Helavas from Rs. 9 to Rs. 24 and the poorer Devangas from Rs. 9 to 21. There are hardly any cases in which the bride-price is excused in any caste or tribe except (1) where the bridegroom is either the maternal uncle of the bride or where the maternal, if he himself does not marry the girl, takes her for his son when the usual amount is reduced by one half and sometimes even excused altogether; when a widow marries her husband's younger brother (as among the Banjaras) no bride-price is paid; (2) where the bride is a widow and the person marrying her is a widower when the price is similarly reduced by one half; and (3) when there is an exchange of daughters between the marrying families, the bride-price is altogether excused on both sides. On the contrary when a widower desires to marry a virgin he has to pay a higher price. Sometimes this is twice what is paid ordinarily for her, besides the *Sauti Hana* or the co-wife's gold. Half the price is usually paid immediately the contract of marriage is settled and betel leaves and nuts are exchanged between the parents of the bride and bridegroom, and the other moiety is paid after the *tāli* is tied, *i.e.*, after the contract is turned into a sacrament. Where the amount is higher—double the usual amount or near-abouts, as among the Idigas—the sale is apparently taken to be an absolute one and the girl has therefore to be sent to her husband's house at once and the latter might refuse to send her back to her father's house, which he could not if the smaller amount was paid, being in that case bound to send her whenever her father went to fetch her. Sometimes, as among the Kurubas, where the amount to be paid is heavy, its payment is spread over a number of years. Occasionally when the bridegroom is too poor to pay anything either

immediately or in the near future, he is allowed to work in his prospective father-in-law's house, be fed and clothed by the father-in-law. There is no period of service fixed but usually—as among the Vaddas—the son-in-law has to serve until he begets a female child and presents her to his brother-in-law. The amount of price paid, whatever it is, goes usually to the bride's mother, father or brother. But it seems fair to conclude that this was not always so. Apparently the amount originally went to the maternal uncle of the bride. Among the Korachas, when the maternal uncle does not take the girl for himself or his son, he usually gets two-fifths of the price paid for her transferred over to him in the case of the first two daughters. Among the Kadu Gollas again, the amount is taken by the father and handed over to the maternal uncle, which shows that he is rightly the person entitled to it. These and other customs pertaining to bride-price show that, as the filiation changed from the mother to the father, the devolution of the price paid also changed in the same direction. This change is daily getting more and more confirmed among the urban castes by reason of contact with higher castes who usually do not pay any price whatsoever for a bride. It may, indeed, be said, that among several castes, the bride-price, though paid, is usually converted into a jewel by the parents of the bride and returned to her as such. This is so for instance among the Morasu Vokkaligas and the Telugu Banajigas and a section of the Devangas. Among these it may justly be remarked that the taking of the bride-price is getting into disfavour.

(*b*) **Relics of Marriage by Capture.**

There are a few traces of marriage by capture among certain tribes and castes. Thus among the Bedars, Agasas, Nayindas, Idigas and Handi Jogis a mimic fight between the bridegroom's and the bride's parties—in which the indiscriminate throwing of half-pounded rice is prominent—is a regular feature of the usual marriage ceremony. It is the bride that is sought to be captured, the fight customarily taking place at or near the bride's house. On these occasions the bridegroom usually carries a dagger in his hand and is accompanied by his party, who are met by the bride's party, and the mimic fight ensues immediately the meeting takes place. The bridegroom's party is taken next into the marriage booth to which the bride is brought in and placed opposite the bridegroom with a cloth as a screen between the two. At the moment the priest draws off the cloth the bride and the bridegroom throw on each other some jaggery and cumin seed or rice, the girl if too young or small in stature being held up by her maternal uncle or other near relative. This apparently indicates the easy surrender of the bride after the simulated fight. One or two curious customs prevail among certain castes which may probably be relics of marriage by capture. Thus among some

of the Holeyas, five men from the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house and tie the *tāli* round the neck of the bride and return to the village, where the bridegroom is kept waiting all alone in a room, outside the house known as Devaramane (or God's Home). The bride comes on horse-back, alights near the Devaramane and goes into the room occupied by the bridegroom. A cloth separates the girl and garlands are mutually exchanged. The men and the women present then throw rice on the heads of the pair. Have we here a simulation of the capture of a bridegroom by the bride? Among the Madigas, as the bridal pair come out of a room after the customary dinner, the maternal uncles of the bride and the bridegroom intercept them at the threshold and beat them with whips of twisted cloths. Among the Handi Jogis as the bridegroom and his party approach the bride's place, they are stopped by a party of the bride's relations who hold a rope across the path. After a mock struggle in which he is worsted the bridegroom pays down a rupee to his opponents who thereupon permit him to pass into the marriage booth. Among the Banjaras when the couple are led to the marriage booth, the bride puts up considerable resistance and is forcibly led to the place by an elderly woman. The couple then go round the milk post three times, the bride all the while weeping and howling. In the same manner, the couple pass round the second post three times, after which the elderly woman retires. The husband once again passes round the post with the bride. Her resistance is now redoubled and he has almost to drag her by force. It is this which constitutes the binding or the essential part of the ceremony in this caste.

Marriage Ceremonies, etc.

Among the generality of castes the marriage ceremonies are elaborate and usually last five days. The marriage in the majority of cases takes place at the bride's place, though sometimes, as among the Dombaras, and a section of the Holeyas, it also is performed at the bridegroom's. Among the Kadu Gollas, however, marriage is looked upon as an impure affair and takes place only outside the hamlet. Among these, those who attend a marriage do not enter their houses without bathing in a tank. The marriage ceremonies include among most castes various items, the chief of which are the Vilyada Shastra which fixes the contract between the parties; the *Devamruta* which invokes the blessings of *God* and the dead ancestors on the couple; the *Chappra* or the *Elevasa*, or the erecting of the marriage booth, in which the maternal uncle of the bride plays an important part; the *tâli* tying which turns the contract into a sacrament; the *dhare*, the pouring of the milk over the couple which is caught in a vessel and thrown over an ant hill afterwards; the *sasé*, the pouring of handfuls of rice by married couples on the bride and the bridegroom; *bhūma*, the eating together of the newly married couple;

the *Nāgavali*, the searching of two vessels containing red coloured water; the *Kankana Visarjana*, the untying of the wrist bands from off the hands of the couple; and finally the Gaddige (or Simhasana Pūje) the worship of the throne at which the members of the 18 and 19 phana communities are, in the order of seniority, shown respect by the distribution of betel leaf and nuts. Among some castes a few more items may be found to exist but the above may be taken as forming the principal ones in a typical marriage celebrated among most castes in the State. The binding portion of the marriage is invariably the tying of the *tāli* followed by the *dhare*. The *tāli* is in most cases tied by the bridegroom. This apparently seems a later innovation. Originally it seems not improbable that it was tied as even now among the Holeyas, by the maternal uncle. This custom, however, has entirely fallen into desuetude and the bridegroom has taken the place of the maternal uncle. The Tali is usually a round disc of gold made flat or convex like a shallow inverted cup with a small button at the top. A string is passed through a ring attached to it and it is tied so as to hang round the neck. Among the Telugu-speaking immigrant castes, the string is strung also with black glass beads on each side of the Tali. Among the Banjaras, as we have seen, going round the milk post, is the operative part of the ceremony. This circumambulation of the milk post is performed by most other castes, but it nowhere assumes the importance it does among the Banjaras.

Marriage Season.

To save expense it is customary with some castes to celebrate a number of marriages together. Thus among the settled section of the Dombars, it is usual to arrange for such a celebration before the temple of their caste Goddess Ellamma at Tumkur. Single marriages are the exception with them. Similarly among the Handi Jogis, a wandering caste, a similar custom prevails. The time considered most suitable for marriage is the beginning of the *New Year*.

Adoption.

Adoption has been described by Sir Henry Maine as "the earliest and most extensively employed of legal fictions . . . which permitted family relations to be created artificially." "If it had never existed," he adds, "I do not see how any one of the primitive groups, whatever were their nature, could have absorbed another, or on what terms any two of them could have combined except those of absolute superiority on one side and absolute subjection on the other." In another part of his great work "*Ancient Law*" he observes :—"Both a will and an adoption threaten a distortion of the ordinarr course of family descent, but they are obviously contrivances for preventing the descent being wholly interrupted, when there is no succession of kindred

to carry it on. Of the two expedients, the fictitious creation of blood-relationship is the only one which has suggested itself to the greater part of archaic society." It should come as a rude shock to many familiar with these and other similar remarks of Maine to be told that there are still tribes and castes both in this State and in some of the adjoining districts of Madras who have not so far evolved the conception of adoption. In fact adoption as such is foreign to them. With them the continuation of the family in the daughter or daughter's line or the affiliation of the son-in-law seems to have been universal. Thus, as we have seen, among sections of the Kurubas, Holeyas, Madigas, Dombars, Killekyatas (Chikkabombe Division) and Besthas, while there is no adoption of the son, the perpetuation of the family through the daughter by dedicating her as a Basavi is quite common. Enquiries show that among these castes even a brother refuses to give one of his sons in adoption. In such a case the continuation of the line through the daughter seems natural. Mr. W. Francis, I.C.S., has drawn attention in the *Bellary District Gazetteer* (Chap. III) to this absence of bdoption of sons among certain castes in that border district under the Basavi system prevailing there. Where a daughter is turned Basavi, she in every sense becomes a son, and has all his rights—she lives in her father's house, inherits his property and performs his funeral obsequies just as his son does. And if she dies, persons inherit directly to the grandfather *per capita* as if they were his own children. The filiation of the son-in-law seems to have been the consequence of this system of making the daughter one's own heir, when there was a failure of male issue. It seems a fair inference from the extreme popularity that the Basavi system enjoys at present, that these modes of raising heirs by means of one's own daughter were more widely prevalent in the country than now. Further inquiries are necessary before we can definitely say how far this principle of making the daughter heir of a family and continuing it by means of her sons was the cause of the system of dedication of dancing girls to temple as Bhogams, which has been declared illegal by the Madras High Court. It should in any case be admitted that Basavis are not all immoral and that examples of Basavis who have restricted themselves to a single visitor are not uncommon. But once the way was open for degeneracy, it should have been impossible to stop the current. The custom of dedicating one of the daughters at least as a Basavi or dedicating one of several as a Basavi in consequence of a vow seems a later innovation conceived in the spirit of religion. Whether, if at all and if so how far, this principle of making the daughter and her children heirs of the family in place of a son is connected with mother-kin and how it is the precursor of the Hindu Law Doctrine that invests the *Putrika Putra*

with certain natural rights in case of failure of male issue can only be determined by closer investigation of the whole subject in the areas in which the principle is still alive.

Where the adoption of a son is practised, the boy adopted is usually a brother's son; or one belonging to the same exogamous division. One's own brother cannot be adopted, nor can a married man be adopted.

Among most castes the son of a daughter or a sister may, however, be taken in adoption. These are exceptions to the accepted rule of Hindu Law that the adoptee must be the reflection of a son born. No particular ceremony is observed in connection with adoption. Among many castes, however, the adoptee's waist thread is cut and a new one is tied in its place and a new cloth is, in addition, given in some cases. The adopter also stands a dinner to his castemen in honour of the occasion.

Inheritance.

The devolution of property follows the usual principles common to all Hindus. The rights peculiar to Basavi daughters and their children and to an *Illatom* son-in-law have been referred to above. The eldest son among some castes gets an extra share. Among the Killekyatas, it is stated that the younger son succeeds to the property of his parents by preference. This is brought about apparently by the fact that the elder ones set up separate sheds for themselves soon after marriage and that the youngest remaining longest with the parents has to support them in their old age. Among the Idigas, the youngest son is allowed the first choice of the share and then the next above him. In the same caste, the share given to the father in a partition during his lifetime is said to belong to the son who defrays his funeral expenses at his death.

Other Minor Characteristics.

Every caste has its own occupation, and its status is well defined in Hindu Society. Each caste or tribe has also its own peculiar religious and social observances, though those which desire to seek a higher status in the social scale have not been altogether unwilling to adopt and even assimilate customs and practices hitherto largely if not solely identified with the Brahmans as a caste. This has been especially so in regard to marriage including early marriage of girls before puberty and enforced widowhood, and ideas of ceremonial pollution. Most castes have some account of their origin, sometimes the stories given out being most fanciful and betraying an evident anxiety to get into the hallowed circle of Hindu Society.

Brahmans as a general rule do not take water or articles of food baked, boiled or fried in ghee from persons of other castes. Most castes, however, are willing to take food prepared by Brahmans or Lingayats. Generally

speaking it may be said that it is not considered derogatory for Brahmans to minister to the spiritual needs of other castes considered fairly high in the social scale. Most castes, however, have their own priests and among Lingayats none but their own priests can officiate at marriages, funerals, etc. The division of castes known as the right hand and left hand (Balagai and Yedagai) still persists but it is of no practical significance. Among some castes the custom of admitting outsiders prevails, for example, Agasa, Beda,. Holeya, Madiga, Nayinda, etc.; a purification ceremony precedes the admission and is held before the caste elders. It is usually followed by a caste dinner to which the new admittant is a party. Usually the admittant is a person regarded by the caste in question as belonging to a caste higher than itself in the social scale. Caste titles vary but as already remarked the tendency to appropriate some particular ones by those not really entitled to hem is common. Caste government of some kind is universal though its power and jurisdiction have been largely taken away from them by the Civil Courts, the tendency towards individualism which has made itself felt to an increasing extent in recent years and the general relaxation that has followed the emancipating tendencies of the Western influences. At present it may be said caste tribunals have little to do with disputes relating to property inheritance and occupation. Their jurisdiction usually extends to questions relating to food, marriages, admission of outsiders into the caste and like matter which purely affect the particular caste as such and its general status in the accepted social scale. Occasionally family dissensions are also taken up for decision by the caste tribunals but this is done more in their extrajudicial character than otherwise.

These tribunals are of two kinds. One is presided over by the Swamis of recognized mutts (religious orders), such as those of Sringeri, Uttaradi, Vyasaraya, etc., among Brahmans, and the Murugi and other mutts among the Lingayats. These have agents all over the State and they are recognized on all ceremonial occasions, such as marriages, funerals, etc. They collect the fees and remit them to the mutts concerned, report cases of delinquency to them and obtain their decisions on them for general promulgation among the castemen concerned. The other sort of caste tribunal is the headman of the caste resident in each village, who decides every dispute as it arises, the chief headman being referred to only on important occasions, (*e.g.*, Kuruba, Golla, Beda, Morasu Vokkaliga, etc.). The office of the headman is hereditary. Headmen of castes which belong to the right hand and left hand castes make use of a beadle in convening assemblies in their jurisdiction known as *Kattemanes*. The headman, called variously Gowda, Setty, or Yejaman is not unusually assisted by his deputies (as among the Bedas) or by assessors (called

Buddhivantas) or wise men in his work (as among the Vaddas). The parties are summoned and heard after they have been duly sworn in after the manner customary in the caste concerned (swearing by the *vibhooty* or consecrated ashes after placing it on a kumbly and making puja to it as among the Kurubas and swearing by *Janjappas* or sacred sheep as among Kadu Gollas). Then evidence is next heard and sentence pronounced. For ordinary offences, a fine is the usual sentence. Marrying out of the endogamous unit is followed not infrequently by expulsion from caste. Some castes which are numerically strong have a more developed caste organization. Thus among Morasu Vokkaligas, several *Kattemanes*, each presided over by a Gowda or Yejaman, form a nādu (division of country at the head of which is a Nādu Gowda). Several Nādus form a Dēsa (Country) presided by a Dēśai Gowda or Nādu Gowda. There are two such, one at the head of a Telugu section and another at the head of a Kannada section of this caste. That these offices were at one time connected closely with the civil administration of rural areas and that even women could become Nal-Gowdas or Nad-Gowdas may be inferred from inscriptions. An inscription dated 918 A.D. found in the Shikaripur Taluk of the Shimoga District gives an interesting account of the office of the Nad-Gowd being continued to the widow on the death of her husband. She was a Jain, and rejoicing in her beauty, was distinguished for the skill and ability of her management. Though a woman, the inscription says, she well protected her charge, with pride in her own heroic bravery. But on being attacked by some bodily disease she retired in favour of her daughter and ended her life with the performance of the Jain vow of *sallēkhana*.

Funeral Ceremonies.

The dead are either buried or cremated. Cremation is universal among Brahmans, the Banjaras and Komatis. The priestly section among the Helavas and other Vaishnavite Nagarthas also burn their dead. Sometimes aged men among the Holeyas are also cremated. Those suffering from contaminating diseases like leprosy, etc., those dying by accident (*e.g.*, from wounds inflicted by wild beasts) and pregnant women are, even among castes which usually bury, cremated. Among some caste, *e.g.*, the Upparas, Vaddas, Dombars, Madigas, Agasas, Telugu Banajigas and a few others—in such cases, the body is disposed by what is known as *Kulul Seve* (or stone service). This consists of the body being placed on suitable ground and being heaped over with stones, so as to form a mound. The generality of castes bury their dead with the head turned to the south. Veerasaivas and those who have come under their influence—*e.g.*, Ganigas, a section of Kurubas, a section of Bedas, Silavantas, Nayindas and a few others—

bury their dead in the sitting posture. The Lingayat Devangas, however, bury in the lying posture. On the other hand, Vaishnavite Holeyas bury their dead in the sitting posture. Pollution lasts for a period ranging from 10 to 15 days. Most castes including those who do not offer annual oblations, observe the Mahalaya New Moon day as a day sacred to the dead. Among the Morasu Vokkaligas, the Holeya of the Morasu Section of that caste as the Halemaga (lit. old son) of the caste plays an important part in the burial ceremonials. In olden days he was one of the four who carried the body but now he walks before it. He also carries the death news to relations, digs the grave, helps the chief mourner to set fire to the body and on the third day goes with the chief mourner to the burial ground and partakes of part of food remaining over after an offering of it has been made to the spirit of the dead person, the remaining portion being thrown to the crows. Among many castes which bury the dead the custom of planting a stone, about 2 ft. high, over the grave prevails fairly widely. The building of Brindavans and the setting up of Lingas by the Vaishnavas and the Saivas respectively is also not uncommon in several places.

Some unusual or curious customs.

Among unusual customs prevalent in the State may be mentioned a few. The existence of Couvade among the Korachas is fairly well established. When a Koracha woman feels birth pains, her husband puts on some of her clothes, makes the woman mark on his forehead and retires to bed in a dark room. The practice exists in remote parts in the Shimoga District and elsewhere and is reported to be dying out. The Myasa Bedas of Chitaldrug District practise circumcision. Whether they have adopted this custom from the Muhammadans has still to be cleared. But it is significant that the pig is taboo to them as an article of food. As the circumcision of women is not practised by them, it may perhaps be inferred that it has been borrowed by them. Customs of this kind, moreover, are never indigenously evolved. The Morasu Vokkaligas of Mysore formerly had a custom, now prohibited by the Government, whereby a woman, before the ears of her eldest daughter were pierced prior to her betrothal, had to suffer amputation of the ring and the little fingers of the right hand. Among the Vaddas a man grows his beard until he is married and removes it at the time. During the pregnancy of his wife, a Vadda will not breach a tank or carry a corpse. The Kurubas of Mysore do not consummate marriage for three months, so as to avoid the risk of having three members of the family within a year of marriage, which is regarded as unlucky. Among the Kadu Gollas, a pregnant woman in labour is lodged far off from a village and only a Beda midwife is allowed to be near her. After three months the mother and the child are brought in.

Among most castes on a girl attaining her age, she is kept out of the village, in a special shed, for a period which may extend to 21 days. Among some (*e.g.*, the Madigas) the maternal uncle of the girl should fetch the materials of the shed, and dismantle it on the day the girl is purified by a bath. Among the Madigas, a girl on attaining her age, is made to have her first bath after attaining her age, on the first day standing on an old shoe and a broom. Among the Banjaras, who profess to be descended from Brahmans, a Brahman's presence is considered essential at the time of marriage. When he is not present an elderly man of the Vadalya clan, which is supposed to be descended from the original Brahman progenitor of the caste, puts on a sacred thread and officiates in the guise of a Brahman. When, however, a Brahman priest is actually present, he is teased by women, young and old, with all sorts of horse-play. The Brahman not infrequently retaliates and even if he does not, a good present makes up for the practical jokes cracked at his expense. It is stated that the women feel keenly disappointed if they miss the fun with the Brahman.

I will now conclude as I began by requesting members of this Society to take a sustained interest in this branch of our work. The paper will have shown how many points yet remain to be cleared up. Our knowledge of Mysore castes and tribes is still small. Because with Government aid a survey has been completed, let us not take it for granted that the work in this section is over. For myself, after nearly twenty-four years of work in this subject, I must say that I only know so much of it as to make me feel that it is only a very little—merely the outer fringes of it. I trust and hope that the subject will attract more men to it.

FISH AND RELIGION IN SOUTH INDIA.

BY S. T. MOSES, M.A., F.Z.S.

(A paper read before the Mythic Society.)

EVEN a hurried tour in these parts is enough to convince a visitor of the enormous sanctity attached to fishes and if he is an enthusiastic follower of Izaak Walton, he may have cause to be annoyed at what to him appears to be the unnecessary fuss made about his attempts to catch the fish in our sacred waters. Further a paradox puzzles him when he notices how much fish enters the dietary of the residents here. Most castes embracing the Hindu religion include notorious fish consumers while even many Brahmans in some parts such as Canara are ichthyophagous. Unlike the Egyptian who excluded all delicious fish from his list of sacred ones (*Oxyrhynchus, Phagrus, Lepidotus, Latus* and *Maeotes*) and dedicated to God only the unwholesome and other poisonous fish unfit for human consumption (p. 192, "The ancient Egyptians" by Wilkinson, Vol. II, 1874) the Hindu includes among the sacred fish even the mighty Mahseer (*Barbus tor*). The Hindu, with an admirable self-restraint, scrupulously refrains from conciliating his gustatory nerves with a repast of sacred fish and resents in a very demonstrative way any attempt of an ignorant foreigner who thinks the tame fish lodged and fed in the temple tanks and sacred rivers excellent victims for his sport! In Malabar "injuring certain kinds of fishes specially bred in tanks attached to certain temples which are invested with varying degrees of sanctity is regarded as a sin" (p. 200, *Malabar and its Folk* by Gopal Panikkar, 1900). The sacred fishes are the carp (*Cirrhina* spp. and *Barbus* spp., small species), the minnows (*Danio* spp. and *Rasbora* spp.), the barbels (*Barbus* spp.), the Carnatic carp (*Barbus carnaticus*) and the Mahseers (*Barbus tor* usually but also *Barbus mosal*). A ritual observed by the worshippers at shrines consists in part of the feeding of fish, an act which is considered meritorious. Rice, etc., used in connection with Shraddas and other ceremonies is thrown to the fishes, which being fed sumptuously like princes, sometimes attain huge sizes and are very tame.

The fish consuming propensity of Muhammadans is very clearly seen in their making fish a heavenly food—a delicacy allotted to the faithful in Paradise and in the ingenious explanation offered by them *re* the taboo on the flesh of animals slaughtered without the offering of "Hallal". Fish being aquatic does not wait for the butchers' knife to give up its ghost, but does so soon after it lands on "terra firma". Hence they say that Muhammad

cut the throats of all fish by throwing his blessed knife into the sea. It is only the bony fishes which have been so dealt with, the opercular openings being the deep cuts! This explains why the rays (Tamil: Thirukkai) and dog-fishes (Tamil: Sura; Malayalam: Sravu) which have only small gillslits are not eaten by the Muhammadans. Some say it is out of deference to their 'human' habit of giving birth to living young instead of laying eggs as other fishes do. Muhammadans like the Jews are also forbidden from eating fish without fins or fish without scales. In the first set are included the rays (Malayalam: Therandi) and under the second come the catfishes. (Tamil: Keluthi; Malayalam: Etta.)

Though Buddhist pagodas, in Burma and Nepal, have sacred fish in their tanks, in South India no vimana possesses any. Buddhists profess great horror at the deprivation of lives of lower animals and fishermen are considered very inhuman. Carvings are not uncommon in Buddhist sculptures, depicting fishermen being "hooked" and drawn to the fiery furnace. However their immoderate liking for a fish diet is notorious; the consumer goes scot free while on the fisherman's head is heaped up all the blame of 'fish-slaughter'. A story is current, as illustrating the casuistry of a *pongee* for obtaining fish. A young fisherman built a chatram for Buddhist *pongees* and supplied them with fish for food. No *pongee* would stay there as the man was a fisherman and as the food was obtained at the expense of the lives of innocent fish. One *pongee* however stayed there for a longer time than the others and to him the fisherman complained that no *pongee* embraced his hospitality and in fact shrank away from him and his hospitality as if from a pestilence. The *pongee* told him the reason was not far to seek and that it was his profession. He then wanted to know how the fish were caught. When the fisherman was explaining his methods, the *pongee* wished to know if the river or the expanse of water was completely blocked by the net and if the river was open to the fish if they chose to avoid the net. When the fisherman said that only a third of the river was obstructed by the net the *pongee* absolved the fisherman by saying it was no fault of his if the stupid fish in spite of having two thirds of the river to go up and down, should fall into the net! From that day the *pongee* stayed in that place and had his regular quota of fish!

Christians eat fish immoderately for even the devoutest do not refrain from eating fish on days they are supposed to abstain from meat *e.g.*, during Lent days and Fridays. Fish is not meat as is seen from the triple combination, "Fish, flesh or fowl" but according to what logic is not known!

The Jains, who are found in the North Arcot, South Arcot and South Canara districts are the only people who scrupulously abstain from eating fish or flesh. Their extreme carefulness to avoid meat diet may be judged from

the fact that "they do not partake of food before sunrise or after sunset and always carefully filter water in order that they may not destroy the animalculæ in it" (p. 191, South Canara District Manual, Vol. I, 1894).

Fish is held sacred by the Hindus because of the frequent piscine metamorphoses of their gods. It was as a fish that Vishnu saved Manu from the deluge as a token of thankfulness for his kind attentions in providing suitable habitats for the growing stages of divine incarnation. The god-fish warned him of the impending (Noachian) flood, advised him to build an ark for himself and a couple of each and every kind of animal and seeds of plants and later towed the ark during the deluge to the peak Naubada. It was as a fish that Vishnu reclaimed the stolen Vedas from Hayagriya. It was as a fish that Brahma instructed Manu in wisdom which enabled him later to formulate his famous code of laws.*

Though the figures of fish may be seen beautifying the walls and pillars of not a few of our temples, it is very rare to find the presiding deity shaped in the form of a fish. At Nerenika in Bellary District is a temple dedicated to Malleswara near which is a cave where a crude carving of a rock into something like the caricature of a fish is worshipped. One species of *Ammonites* (a fossil shell called locally Salagramam as it is usually brought by pilgrims from a village on the Ganges near Benares named Salagram) known as Mutchyamurti Salagramam because of its resemblance to the face of a fish is worshipped during household pujas on the West Coast (Malabar, Travancore, etc).

Of the many temples which have as adjuncts ponds and rivers for sacred fish the following may be mentioned as of special interest. Papanasam Falls in Tinnevelly District is a very sacred spot and the Saivite temple there is flocked to by a huge number of pilgrims. As the Tamil name signifies, the visit is highly valued as it ensures a thorough washing of all sins! The river here has innumerable sacred fish in it and these are fed from the temple funds. In Madura District at Thiruparankuntam the gods in a shrine dedicated to Kasi Ishvaralinga can only be approached by devotees swimming across a pool where sacred fish swarm in good numbers and are so very tame that they come for food when called by the Bairagis. In Trichinopoly District near Arappaleswaran Koil on the Kollaimalais is a stream with millions of sacred fish which are fed by pilgrims. They are also tame and take food even from the hand and come up, it is said, in response to a dinner gong (p. 112, Salem District Manual, Vol. 1, II, 1883). The Tanjore District abounds in temple tanks and as these receive their water-supply from channels of the Cauvery

* For further particulars see Dr. Machan's Madras Administration Manual, Vol. III, pp. 479—483.

and Coleroon all sorts of fish, the fresh water Shark (Tamil: Valai) (*Wallago attu*), the Hilsa (Tamil: Ullam) (*Ilisha Ilisha*), a nice fish to buy which a Tamil proverb advises one to sell all that he has, etc., besides the sacred carp are found. Even the predacious shark is considered sacred here. In Malabar the famous fish pagoda dedicated to Durga in Wynad is on the banks of a river where sacred fish consisting mostly of Carnatic carp (*Barbus Carnaticus*) are fed by the pilgrims. At Ramnathpur in Mysore where temple fish abound, a 'brother of the angle' says 'they don't mind fishing 100 yards or so above the temple bathing steps' (p. 380. The Rod in India by Thomas, 1897).

In the holy river Tunga on the banks of which is situated the ancient and historic town of Sringeri, the head-quarters of Sri Sankaracharya of Sringeri Mutt, there abounds a rich variety of salmon of fairly good size in a pool near the Mutt premises, and devotees visiting the place show their regard for the fish in the pool by feeding them with cereals, plantains and other edibles.

On the flight of steps leading to the pool there stands installed Nirakareswara Lingam worshipped daily and the offering of boiled rice made to this Lingam is used for feeding the fish. This indulgence has no doubt contributed in no small measure to their congregating in large numbers and to fearlessly approaching visitors who feed them.

His Holiness Sri Swamigalavaru of the Mutt, whenever he bathes in the river, feeds them and the sight of the fish taking their food from his hands is a fine one.

His late Holiness Sri Sankaracharya had one of the conspicuously big and bold ones of the brood caught and got a golden ring inserted in one of its gills.

There is a widespread belief in Sringeri that skin diseases can be cured by propitiating the fish of this place. Accordingly, when persons are afflicted with cutaneous complaints, they take a vow to feed them and instances can be given where their faith has yielded beneficent results to the sufferers.

Another cause of veneration for fish is the popular belief of the souls of the dead, especially gluttons, finding repose by transmigrating into fish. In Malabar and Travancore this belief appears to be widespread and Fra Paolina de san Bartolomeo says " when a Malabar king, prince or a great man dies the Mukkuwans must for sometime give over fishing and as a signal that it is then prohibited branches of trees are always stuck up here and there on the banks of the rivers. They are generally suffered to remain eight or ten days in order that the soul of the deceased during that time may choose for itself a new habitation in the body of some fish " (p. 242 A Voyage to the East Indies, 1800). He also records an interesting case which occurred as far back as 1780. The king of Travancore 'Rama Varmer' had lost his mother and so "the commander of English troops in Anjengo was requested

by the king to cause every mark of respect to be paid at Anjengo to the memory of his deceased mother. No one during that time (three days) durst fish in the sea because the Indians believe in the transmigration of souls and are therefore afraid that the soul of a deceased person may be prevented from going into some fish or other" (ibid. p. 144).

The Tirumalapad (or Raja) of Nilambur in Malabar has in the pool below his house sacred fish which have reached huge dimensions. Also the Madagole Zamindars of Vizagapatam have huge mahseer in their Matsyagundam. Their superstitious fears lest any be killed are great and are akin to the belief of "the heir of Clifton of Clifton in Nottinghamshire dying if a sturgeon is caught in the Trent near Clifton." A story is current near Matsyagundam as to the origin of some rocks near by. A sacred fish was caught there by an unfortunate Brinjari who with his pack-horses were instantaneously petrified! The river which supplies water to this Matsyagundam forms a rock pool near its source, and here also the sacred fish abound. The fish are fed by a priest who calls them 'Machi, Machi, Machi'. The fish come up and take the food thrown in.

The Gonds are so obsessed by the belief that the souls of the dead find a habitation in fish that, after burial, they go to the river, cry out the name of the deadman and catch a fish which they fully believe is the mortal vehicle of that soul. The curious part of the custom is the fish is made a meal of in the belief that the deceased will be born again in the family!

Another cause of fish-worship may be found in the timidity of the followers of Tubal Cain, who seek to propitiate the monsters of the deep with gifts, requesting them to refrain from harming the fishermen while reaping the harvest of the sea. Fisher-folk in their daily round of reaping where they have not sown are subject to innumerable dangers. Tragic has been the end of many who draw their daily bread out of the waters. A fisherman who gets out in the morning in the hope of a good share in the finny spoils may fall a prey by mischance to a ravenous monster whom he had fondly hoped to take home. Our Pattanavar fishermen, unlike the Kaffirs of Africa who offer human sacrifice, merely offer Pongal periodically. The Kaffirs of Africa dedicate a child from his birthday as a victim for the sharks and then in the eleventh year they tie him to a pole in the sea where the boy shrieks in horror till the life is despatched by the sharks. Even the Muhammadan fishermen and divers employed in the chank and pearl fisheries of the South try to propitiate the sharks. Once the shark scare is raised, the fishery must break up unless a priest or an old woman performs ceremonies which are supposed to charm the monsters away from the scene. Some years ago a Muhammadan who held the post of honorary overseer in the Ramnad Chank Fisheries and who was reputed to be a very effective sharkcharmer,

failed to scare away the shark in spite of reiterated prayers and pronouncements of charms. It was subsequently found that the inefficacy was due to the loss of many teeth of the overseer due to old age.' The divers could not be persuaded to resume work even by lavish promises of presents, till another charmer was found. At Gwadur on the Mekran Coast it is recorded that fishermen of all religions present the priests of a shrine with saws of *Pristis* the sawfish. The priests were expected to pray for pot luck and a safe return (p. 728, Fishes of India by Day, Vol. I, 1878-1888.)

A ceremony connected with fish may be mentioned here. The Fish is a very prolific animal, one female, *e.g.*, that of *Scomber microlepidotus* the Mackerel (Kanan-geluthi of the Tamils and the Aylai of the West Coast) depositing as many as six lakhs of eggs! It is ordinarily taken as an emblem of fertility and so the Holeyas of Canara lead the newly wedded couple to a river where they put in the wedding mat woven by the bride and catch some fish which the couple let go after kissing (p. 174, South Canara District Manual, Vol. I, 1894). In some cases one fish is taken home and its scales adorn the forehead of the couple and they believe this ensures fertility!

In the old Vedas it is said there is no equivalent of the word fish and that only after the Aryans had migrated towards the ocean the word Matsya was introduced. Vizagapatam District and the place round about was formerly known as "Matsya Desa". The chiefs who ruled over this 'fish country' were the Matsyas the founder of which clan is said to have descended from a fish. The Madagole Zamindars of Vizagapatam claim to be the lineal descendants of the Matsayas. Their throne is fish-shaped. Their signature is a symbol representing a fish, they display a fish on their banner and even their dependants wear fish-shaped ear-rings.

The Pandyans of the South had as the device of their House a fish, (p. 74, A Sketch of the Dynasties of South India by Sewell, 1883) and on their banner was the figure of a fish. This is sometimes adduced as a proof that the Pandyans who were often addressed as " Minavar Kon " (king of the fishermen) belonged to the fishing community of the South the Parawas or as they style themselves the Bharathas.

In this connection it may be interesting to show how it is that the early Christians of Europe too had adopted the fish as their emblem. During the early days of Christianity Christians were persecuted and they had to find out a means by which the burial place of a fellow Christian could be easily made out without betraying the fact to their pagan persecutors. The emblem of a fish was adopted and a figure of a fish inscribed on the grave-stones. The first letters of the Greek words Jesus, Christ, God's Son, Saviour chanced to form the Greek word Ichthus (fish) and hence the symbol.

BHAGAWAD-GEETHA—PHILOSOPHY OF DUTY.

(*A Paper read before the Mythic Society*)

BY M. CHAKRAVARTHI, ESQ., M. A.

THIS aspect of the Geetha is really enchanting to the spiritualist, the moralist and essentially to the practical philosopher in his big programme of social adjustment. While the eighteen chapters of the Geetha aim at individual perfection separately under the training of Karmayoga, Gyanayoga and Bhakthiyoga (right action, true knowledge and pure devotion) in their diverse aspects, the chief keynote to the Book on the whole consists in the fact that the immortal author has 'humanity' as the central theme of his work and the empire of humanity as the goal of man here on earth and individual existence, a sound solid factor contributing in itself, consciously or unconsciously, to the realization of that goal. Unless this idea is clearly borne in mind, it is not possible to construe properly the apparently contradicting expressions frequently appearing in the Geeta either under Karma-yoga or Gyanayoga or Bhakthiyoga. The one theme of all the Upanishads is the correct knowledge of man, world and God and the application of that knowledge in man's everyday walk of life. The famous sutra of Patanjali ज्ञानानुष्ठानेधर्मः amply illustrates the truth of this. By merely knowing the essentials of life and life's activities we cannot achieve our goal; no do we reach the goal by adhering to a practice traditionally handed down to us about the knowledge of which we are utterly ignorant. The Sadhana or the direct means consists in the true knowledge and its application. This our social legislators like Manu, Yagnya-valkya, and others called धर्म or Duty. Kānāda explained धर्म as यथोऽभ्युदयनिश्रेयससिद्धि स्सधर्मः. 'That which contributes to worldly prosperity and spiritual bliss is Dharma or Duty'. The great logician has not closed his eyes to the bearing of Dharma on worldly activities unlike his later followers here in India. What he evidently means is that to be Dharmic one should be ever striving towards the progress of the world and one's own spiritual advancement. There is perhaps no other word in the Sanskrit language as सिद्धिः for at once being rich, significant and fully expressive. If the Sanskrit poets said कवीनांकलिः कामधेनुः (the word kali is the all-giving cow to the poets) the student of humanity may take सिद्धि as his कामधेनु. It is by individual attempts that man adds to the weal of the world and the consciousness that the world is richer, nobler and in a word better than what it was before he came to this world in his sacred pilgrimage towards perfection lies at the root of man's supreme happiness pertaining to this world. This is अभ्युदयसिद्धि. The unceasing attempt with a consciousness that by that the world is certainly progressing, howsoever infinitesimally it be and the supreme satisfaction that existence here has not been wasted but so direct-ed as to bring joy to the world including the individual is what Kānāda has in mind

in having that expression अभ्युदयासिद्धि in his definition of धर्म. This comes first in the definition because service to mankind or in other words promotion of worldly prosperity is more insistent on man's spiritual nature and is the sure step to please God. But man's work does not end here. Half the sacred function is rightly done and the other half yet remains. The world will be happy and he will be happy only after the successful performance of duties in relation to the world. But meanwhile some strong support is necessary to keep him on and on in spite of repeated obstacles, unnatural impediments and soul-killing temptations. This want is fulfilled by the word निश्रेयस in the definition. Spiritual bliss is not possible without a correct knowledge of godhead and the conviction that whatever man be in his onward march towards perfection he is but an instrument of God with a special purpose of his own in the shaping of the world. As before निश्रेयससिद्धि: means that, while man works for the progress of the world in his humble capacity he should strengthen his hands with spiritual realization so much so that individuality merges in the all-embracing divine love. Thus worldly prosperity and spiritual evolution are complementary to each other and with these two weapons man, undaunted by fear, obstacles and opinions, is sure to achieve his goal. Pettiness, the natural outcome of wordly successes, cannot find a place in the heart of man spiritually dedicated to God. Thus धर्म so beautifully defined by the great seer Kānāda has no particular reference to any place, any nation or any time, but is universal. It is this Dharma that Sri Krishna expounds in his sacred Geeta to Arjuna and it is the banner of this Dharma that Vyasa holds unfurled in his great epic Mahabharata. That mighty edifice with its eighteen Parvas and that illustrious author with his other eighteen puranas strike an attunement to the eighteen chapters of the Geeta with the one chorus of धर्म. Vyasa says

ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्विरोम्येषः नहिकश्चिच्छ्रुणोतिमे । धर्मादर्थश्चकामश्चसकिमर्थंनसेवत ॥

(With hands uplifted I shout and no one comes to listen to me; Prosperity and happiness are born of धर्म and why do you not observe it?) The Vedas explain this Dharma by facts in the कर्मकाण्ड, भक्तिकाण्ड and ज्ञानकाण्ड. In doing so the Vedas behave like kings. Their orders are pithy and pointed. They reward good conduct with good results and bad conduct with bad. While on one side the rewards are most tempting even according to the hair-splitting pains-involving मीमांसक school of philosophers with their one commandment that sacrifices must be performed as enjoined in the Karmakanda of the Vedas, the punishment for wrong doing on the other not only strikes terror even into the most heinous criminal but also shakes the confidence of the most pious and honest and sacrifice-loving person on the ground that even in trying to live by the Vedas he has to commit faults of omission and commission in the nature of things. Naturally fear dug the ground under his foot and in spite of the Vedas and their royal prerogatives the one query remained 'what to do'. At this point the great seers opened their fountains of knowledge and thence proceeded the streams of puranas watering the parched-up soils of enquiring minds and giving rise to the plentiful harvest of soul vision and God vision on the sacred tree of Dharma reared up amidst the closely seasoned

अर्थवाद. Unlike the king-like Vedas, the puranas served like friends. They would tell stories at times real and at others imaginary but always to teach धर्म. But stories multiplied and the simple truth got hidden among crustations of wild glaring and dreary episodes. धर्म got to be confused and with the advent of the several schools of thinkers of the षड्दर्शन (the six systems of philosophy) and in their sincere and yet one-sided desire to explain away the Reality and the Absolute more or less in a sectarian spirit, confusion became confounded and धर्म became a mere word and whatever people did they called it the dictate of धर्म. The correct sense of the original धर्म meaning the duty of a knowing spiritual man in helping the onward march of the world with the full cognition of his purpose in creation got disfigured, its application was lost amidst cumbrous details and meaningless forms and it was forced to mean whatever the whim and fancy it suited the individual to give to the word. The empire of humanity was no longer the goal, the individual attempt at the universal oneness was no longer the duty imposed upon man's higher nature and the whole thing was reduced to individual aggrandizement and utter debasement of the human destiny.

It was at this point, Sri Krishna whom the Hindus call an Avatar, made his appearance amidst mortal men to extricate the precious truth from among the mischief-making labyrinthal schools of philosophers and restore it to its pristine purity. Whatever may be the opinion about Sri Krishna anybody may entertain it remains for his immortality that he showed the true धर्म of the Vedas as the science of conduct between man and self, man and man, man and the world and man and God in his immortal Geeta. Geeta (that which is sung) it certainly is, for to an enquiring mind its melodies are sweeter than music and more soul-refreshing than anything that we know of in the fine arts. In the Geeta He says that He made Himself manifest for the restoration of Dharma.

यदायदाहि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवतिभारत । अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥

(Oh Arjuna, when righteous conduct disappears from the land and unrighteousness prevails, I make myself manifest.) This stanza is the keystone of the whole edifice of the Geeta. Karmayoga, Gyanayoga and Bhakthiyoga it surely treats of in separate chapters but a close perusal of the whole Geeta will convince any unbiased student that the treatments given to them separately are only to explain away the several fallacies connected with them and show them in their real bearing on man's good here and hereafter. To understand the importance of this statement we have only to conjure up to our minds the real situation at the time Sri Krishna gave his sacred Geeta to Arjuna and through him to the world at large. The opposing forces are gathered in large numbers ready to fight in the field of Kurukshetra and the hero is taken in a chariot to see who they are that he should kill. He sees his own kith and kin, his preceptors and elders and friends and well-wishers. Naturally the tender heart of the hero melts away with compassion at the inevitable carnage and being himself known as one of the greatest Dharmicas he stills finds himself at sea when he thought of what his conduct then should be. Should he kill or retire from the battle-field? The

idea of Duty compelled him to kill but along with it another duty of the Kshatriya namely दुष्टनिग्रहशिष्टपरिपालन रूपोराजधर्मः (punish the wicked and succour the good) rose up in his mind. This conflict of duties got further strengthened by the good notion that those like Bhishma, Drona and others whom he should protect at any cost and who themselves were known champions of Dharma had ranged themselves along with the Kauravas who deserved death. How should he conduct himself at this juncture? Again it would not come under right ethics if a man kills his own folk who are driven by lust and greed even to mad excesses like his cousins. They were wrong no doubt but it did not justify him to do greater wrong in annihilating them. Arjuna fears that by his conduct one way or the other society would lose its stability and the men and women would do as they pleased with the result that the race-purity would disappear. Being a staunch believer in other worlds and the safe residence of his deceased ancestors there he thought that the Varna-sankarya (the mixture of races) the inevitable result of warfare, would send down to perdition those ancestors whose stay in the higher regions depended upon their receiving libations from their children below. Thus Arjuna is troubled on all sides by strange notions of duties arising on personal, social and religious considerations. When he found that he would not conduct himself safely he thought that, the noble soul that he was, he should sacrifice himself rather than do that which would damn him eternally with ignominy. These worries he would not have had had he only known that the goal of man is in the empire of Humanity and real धर्म should not be judged either by personal, or social or even religious considerations but transcending all these it should stay on the hard rock of right conduct which alone contributes to the weal of the world. At this stage, seeing that unbecoming infamous attitude of Arjuna Sri Krishna said, "Oh Arjuna, you have lost moral courage. You must pick it up. Your purpose here is not to see a few kith and kin safe for the present. They have to die some time or other. But your purpose should be such that does not retard the progress of the world as the actions of the Kauravas are doing now. If you think the welfare of your preceptors and elders as the end—all of your life you have not done your duty by the world. There is nothing wrong in killing those who retard the progress of the world. Kauravas are sinners and those whom you want to save sacrificing the world's welfare are only trying to drag the destiny of humanity down. As a Kshatriya it is but right that you should not swerve in killing your enemies and moreover if you do not do your duty you will be condemned by the good people. Killed in a right cause you will get into Heaven and winning you will enjoy the glories of the world. And Arjuna! all this confusion has arisen in your mind, simply because you have not known on what your conduct should be based. You should not be guided by the ideas of joy and pain, gain or loss but should do your duty determined by circumstances. Even the Vedic ideal holds forth some fruits or other and people are naturally guided by the results of actions and cannot understand the importance of ' doing duty for duty's sake,

कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते माफलेषुकदाचन । माकर्मफलहेतुर्भूर्मातेसंगोस्त्वकर्मणि ॥

(You have to do your duty ; you have at no time to reckon on the fruits thereof ; you should not be persuaded to do your duty by its results and may you not love inaction) Thus in the most terrible of circumstances, Sri Krishna's advice to Arjuna was that he should do his duty irrespective of the fruits thereof. He should neither encourage bad action nor himself indulge in inaction. This advice of Sri Krishna is at once a key to unravel the mysteries hanging round Karmayoga, Gyanayoga and Bhaktiyoga. These three Yogas are not in themselves complete but they are complementary to each other. Karmayoga which teaches man to do his duty properly raises a number of issues, the chief among them being whether any man can even remain inactive, even for a moment. (नहिकश्चितक्षणमपिजातुतिष्ठत्यकर्मकृत) It is impossible in man's nature to be inactive. Whether he wills or no his very nature goads him on to manifest or unmanifest activity. This innate tendency in man 'to do' has certain limitations. All his tendencies cannot always give good results, good in harmony with the world's welfare. Some tendencies judged purely by the motives of the lower self of man may no doubt satiate or try to satiate man's individual sense-pleasures but may from the standpoint of his divine mission on earth retard universal progress. It is here the Vedic ideal interfered and ordained that whenever you have to do anything because you cannot but do the inevitable, it is only right that that doing may be for your good but should not be such as to retard universal welfare. The Karmakanda of the Vedas asked man to convert the tendencies into doing some sacrifice or other and in anticipation of the superior happiness in the other worlds discount all happiness here because the worldly happiness was never fully happiness but an admixture of pleasure and pain. According to the मीमांसक school of philosophy the natural tendency in man should be trained along the lines of action calculated to bring the unmixed pleasures of Swarga and other worlds. This way of looking at things naturally gave rise to the ideas of पुण्य and पाप (merit and sin). All that which promised unmixed happiness hereafter was known as पुण्य and all that that was detrimental to the unmixed happiness was पाप. But again the question was put "how long can a man enjoy this sort of unmixed happiness?" There was again a limitation to this unmixed happiness 'क्षीणेपुण्येमर्त्यलोकंविशन्ति'. When the stock of merit is exhausted the man must come back to the mortal world. Here again it is not eternal happiness though unmixed. It required constant work on the Vedic ideal only to run between heavens and earth for the sake of a higher and still selfish happiness. At this stage the Karma theory of the Hindus शुभकृत्शुभमाप्नोति पापकृत् पापमश्नुते (He who does good is rewarded with good and he who does bad is rewarded with bad) wanted a strong back-bone in the knowledge of the nature of Karma. So long as Karma or action we do is meant for some selfish end, lower or higher, we are bound by the result of it. This binding is what the Hindus call संसार (Birth and Death). Bound by the fruit of action man is born and born again until he knows how he can get rid of this bondage. The Gyanayoga now comes to solve this riddle of how to be doing the inevitable work or Karma and still take care to see that the Karmaphala or the result of action does not bind. It is here

that credit must be given to the Hindu conception of the Vedantic ideal of self-surrender. Gyanayoga while teaching the true nature of man, world and God in their several aspects with one another teaches fundamentally the idea that the real happiness (आनन्द),— not the mixed happiness of this world nor the unmixed but still temporary happiness of the other world—, consists in the realization of Self and its relation to the world and doing all our actions sinking all individuality in the universal. It means to say that the inevitable Karma (action) should be done but so done that it does not recoil on the doer but works out the good of humanity. Man is not bound here, because he wants nothing and man's mission here on earth is fulfilled because his purpose is justified. He, the composite factor, individually contributes to the aggregate good. The renunciation school opposed this view and said that man need not do anything at all but should direct all the inevitable tendencies towards inner reflexion and enjoy आत्मानन्द (the happiness born of the realization of self) to be free from this bondage. Sri Krishna, the most tolerant of reformers while admitting the importance of this view, still suggests that while man surely attains his goal thereby, his purpose in creation is not justified. The world in that case would miss a great leader.

यद्यदाचरतिश्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवेतरोजनः । सयत्प्रमाणंकुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ॥

Whatever the great man does is simply copied by the ordinary man. The world will follow him, only so far as he himself does. According to this school the world without a proper guide would do things irresponsibly and give scope for all confusions. Peace and order would disappear and the progress of the world would mean nothing. The purpose of creation would be defeated. Thus it is incumbent on the Gyani to work for the guidance of the world in its march or rather its ordered procession towards perfection. Whatever diversity of opinions may exist in differentiating Karmayoga and Gyanayoga so far as the purpose of the Geeta is concerned, it goes without saying that a true Karmayogi is none other than a Gyanayogi. Without Karma Gyana is barren and without Gyana Karma is either brutish or superstitious (अन्धपरंपरा—blind leading the blind). It is in this light that Sri Krishna advised Arjuna to rise above the occasion and do his duty.

मयिसर्वाणिकर्माणिसन्यस्याध्यात्मचेतसा । निराशोनिर्ममोभूत्वायुध्यस्वविगतज्वरः ॥

Fight, Arjuna, without any uneasiness and without entertaining any desire or attachment but take care that whatever action you do, you do it in my name with no idea of your individuality in the matter.

This doing of any action sinking all individuality and doing in God's name and for God is what the Geeta calls Bhakthiyoga. In this Yoga there is a total annihilation of man's idea of अहं (I) and all along there is the consciousness that he is but an instrument of God in the evolution of the world. The work is done, the result is produced and the world is enriched but the Bhaktha, the great devotee, enjoys bliss as the result of fulfilling the divine purpose. It is extremely painful to note that sharp hair-splitting differences are made out between Karmayoga, Gyanayoga and Bhakthiyoga, while one cannot be without the other two and all the three

are but the three aspects of the philosophy of duty. Worse it is that compart mental divisions are made between the three aspects and each reduced to practices like indulging in animal-killing sacrifices in the name of Karmayoga, in the running away to a forest under the so-called spirit of renunciation ignoring the responsibility to the world in the name of Gyanayoga and running ecstatic without rhyme or reason in dancing and weeping under the idea of Bhajana in the name of Bhakthiyoga. All these people, howsoever good their motives be, are forgetting the fundamental truth of their existence, namely, that they exist not for themselves but exist for others. कर्मणैवहिसंसिद्धिमास्थिताजनकादय: (It is by well-regulated Karma only that kings like Janaka attained the highest. I believe that India has not produced a better example than Janaka in at once being the greatest knower, the greatest doer and the greatest devotee and illustrating in his life the philosophy of duty. No doubt, it is very hard to realize where one aspect of this duty revolves to show the other two aspects but the wisdom of man consists in seeing that all his actions are free from motives and ever calculated to universal good.

यस्यसर्वेसमारम्भा: कामसंकल्पवर्जिता: । ज्ञानाग्निदग्धकर्माणं तमाहु: पण्डितंबुधा: ॥

योगसन्यस्तकर्माणं ज्ञानसंछिन्नसंशयम् । आत्मवन्तं नकर्माणि निबध्नन्तिं धनंजय ॥

(He who does all his actions without any attachment arising out of desire and whose actions are well determined by true knowledge is called a knower by the wise and he who has a balanced mind in doing and whose doubts are cleared by a correct knowledge of his purpose in life and who has realized his self is not bound by the action results.) The essence of duty does not therefore consist in the differentiation of Karma and Gyana but in seeing them as one. (एकं सांख्यंचयोगंचय:पश्यतिसपश्यति) He alone sees who sees oneness in theory and practice. Although it is not given to every man to reach this ideal in the winking of an eye, it is still the ideal which Sri Krishna placed before Arjuna in the battle-field specially because life is a battle-field where theory and practice are ever in conflict in almost all human beings. When the theory is practice lived out we say it is सिद्धि. Towards this Siddhi all are striving but only a few succeed.

मनुष्याणांसहस्रेषुकश्चियतति सिद्धये । यततामपिसिद्धानांकश्चिन्मांवेत्तितत्वत: ॥

Amongst a thousand men one strives to attain Siddhi and of those Siddhas still striving one may know Me in reality, the purpose of this creation and divinity underlying it all. Although difficult to attain it is quite possible for an aspiring mind to reach it. The only direct means towards it are constant attempt and selflessness. अभ्यासेनतुकौन्तेयवैराग्येनचगृह्यते ॥ Not being satisfied with expatiating on this sublime topic in its theoretical aspect, Sri Krishna gave precious lessons of practice in the following words :—

देवद्विजगुरुप्राज्ञपूजनंशौचमार्जवं । ब्रह्मचर्यमहिंसाचशारीरंतपउच्यते ॥

अनुद्वेगकरंवाक्यंसत्यंप्रियंहितंचयत् । स्वाध्यायाभ्यसनंचैववाङ्मयंतपउच्यते ॥

मन: प्रसादस्सौम्यत्वं मौनमात्मविनिग्रह: । भावसंशुद्धिरित्येतत्तपोमानसमुच्यते ॥

Here Sri Krishna enjoins three kinds of तपस् (watchful conduct) for all men and

for all times so that they may receive practical training in consonance with the spirit of duty. The physical body has been enjoined to observe the following—worshipping of God, godly folk, preceptors and the learned, cleanliness, straightforward bearing, continence, and harmlessness to animals. The organs of speech have been enjoined to observe these—uttering words never calculated to be painful, true, pleasing and agreeable and devoted to praise God and the mind should always have equanimity and sweet temperament, should practise silence and control the organs of sense and cultivate purity of heart. By these methods Sri Krishna assures us that we can fit our body, word and mind to discharge the several duties and responsibilities imposed upon us by the very purpose in creation and make us live a useful life in the world amidst the diverse humanity with the consciousness of an all-merciful God everywhere leading us to enjoy uninterruptedly the bliss of sharing citizenship in the grand and majestic empire of humanity.

JAINA TEACHERS AND THEIR CONTEMPORARY KINGS.

(Continued.)

BY DR. R. SHAMA SHASTRY, B.A., PH.D.

Sriharsha and Manatunga.

WHEN Sriharsha was ruling in Benares, his Court poets were Mayura, the author of Suryasataka and Bana. Though they were near relatives, there was strong rivalry between them. Manatunga was a celebrated Jaina philosopher and scholar in the Court of Sriharsha.

Siddharshi.

There lived king Srivarmalata, in Srimala, a city in Gurjara. He had a minister called Suprabha. The latter had two sons, Datta and Subhankara. Datta's son was the celebrated poet Magha, the author of Sisupala Vadha. Subhankara's son was Siddha. Having fallen into evil habits, he used to come to his house late at night. One day his wife complained to her mother-in-law against her husband. She took steps to correct him. One day when he came to the house late at night, she refused to open the door to him. Finding no place for rest, he went to the Jaina monastery in the city and seeing the religious devotion of the ascetics there he changed his mind and embraced Jainism. Having studied Sanskrit thoroughly he commented on a number of old Jaina works.

Srivira (Vikram 938—991).

In Srimala, a city in Gurjara, there was Devaraja, a descendant of the Dharmaraja dynasty, king of the Gurjara country. There was a merchant Sivanaga by name and he had a son named Vira. Once he went to Matsyapura to worship Mahavira and was robbed of his wealth by thieves on his way. This made him give up his love of wealth. Then he became a Jaina ascetic and began to preach. Once he went to Anahillapura and preached before Chamundaraya, the king of that country. The king had no sons and in virtue of the worship and rites performed by Vira, he got sons who were known in history as Vallabha rajas. Vira was born in Vikrama 938 and died 991.

Santisuri.

In Anahillapura in Gurjara there was king Bhima. There was at that time Vijayasimhasuri, head of the Tharapadagachha. There was also a merchant called Dhanadeva in the same city then. His wife was Dhanasri, and their son was Bhima. He became a convert to Jainism and was thereafter called Santi. After the death of Vijayasimhasuri, he occupied his place in the monastery. The Court poet of king Bhima was Dhanapala, also called Vadichakri who wrote Tilaka-manjari. Santisuri wrote a commentary on it. Once Santisuri went to Dhara, the capital of Bhoja and conquering a number of poets in his court, got

the title of Siddhasaravata and a large amount of money with which he built a number of Chaityas in Dhara. He also defeated a Digambara teacher in dispute in the presence of Siddha, king of Gurjara. Santisuri died on Tuesday the 9th of the white half of the month Suchi (Ashadha), the star being Krittika, in the Vikrama year 1096—1040 A.D.

Mahendrasuri.

While Bhoja, son of Munja, was ruling in Dhara, there was a learned Brahman named Sarvadeva. He had two sons, Dhanapala and Sobhana. He happened to meet Mahendrasuri, a famous Jaina teacher and became acquainted with him. As Sarvadeva was in need of money, he made a gift of his younger son to Mahendrasuri and got forty lakhs of Svarna Tankas from him in return. Dhanapala reported this to the king Bhoja and succeeded in banishing all the Jaina teachers for twelve years from the territory of Avanti. Mahendra with his followers, inclusive of Sobhana, the younger son of Sarvadeva, left Avanti for Anahilla. Sarvadeva was also excommunicated for selling his son. After spending twelve years in studying Sanskrit and Jaina philosophy Sobhana returned to Dhara and succeeded in converting his brother Dhanapala to Jainism. Dhanapala was a learned man and wrote his Tilakamanjari, a work consisting of Jaina religious stories and read it before king Bhoja. The king was very much pleased with the charming style and the sweet and instructive stories of the work. But pointing out some defects he asked Dhanapala to rectify them. He told him that obeisance to Siva at the beginning of the work was necessary. He also suggested that Dhara might be substituted for Ayodhya, with the names of Mahakala and Sankara for Rishabha and his own story for that of Meghavahana. The author did not like to do so. Then king Bhoja took the manuscript and burnt it. Dhanapala was very sorry and had no desire to live any longer. His daughter who had heard the stories read before her narrated them again and Dhanapala wrote them for a second time.

In the city of Bhrigakachha in Lata there was a learned Brahman called Suradeva. He had two sons, Dharma and Sarma. As a young man Dharma was an idle man and would do no work. But coming in contact with Jaina teachers of his day, he learnt Sanskrit and Jaina philosophy and became invincible in dispute. Once he came to the court of Bhoja and challenged his court pandits to carry on religious dispute with him and defeat him, if they could. King Bhoja regretted the absence of Dhanapala at his court and after a long search succeeded in getting him back to his court. In the debate that ensued between Dhanapala and Dharma, the former defeated the latter and told him that his learning was nothing when compared with that of Santisuri, Dhanapala's brother. When Mahendrasuri died Santisuri succeeded him as the head of the Jaina monastery in Anahillapura.

Suracharya.

While Bhima was living in Anahillapura and ruling over Gurjara, there lived a Kshatriya called Mahipala, the son of Sangramasimha who was Bhima's maternal uncle. When Mahipala was very young, his father died and his mother placed the boy under Govindacharya, a Jaina teacher in Anahillapura. Mahipala studied

Sanskrit grammar and literature and became a learned man. When he grew sufficiently old, he was initiated in the religion of the Jainas and became a Jaina teacher called Suracharya. Then king Bhoja wrote to king Bhima, asking him whether there was any poet in his court, capable of composing half a verse so as to fit the first half enclosed in the letter. A number of poets tried, but failed. But Suracharya completed the verse to the satisfaction of king Bhoja. At the invitation of king Bhoja, Suracharya was permitted to go to Dhara and remain with king Bhoja for some time. Bhoja was a Saivait. But as other religions had also their excellences and learned preachers, he could not condemn them. He had however a mad desire to try and combine the six systems of Indian religion into one. Accordingly he consulted his ministers. They said that it was impossible and that, one of his predecessors of the same Paramara dynasty failed in his attempt to unify religions. Bhoja was however determined and having assembled his court pandits and other learned men who had come thither at his invitation, he ordered them to unify religions. He said that no food would be given to them unless they made one religion and removed differences. There were assembled a thousand scholars, both men and women. The one true thing that they all felt with no exception was hunger. It was immaterial whether there existed a Jiva or not. The sight was pitiable. Suracharya had to intervene. He was not one among the imprisoned scholars. He went to the king and said as follows :—

"Your city consists of eighty-four palaces, eighty-four streets, and eighty-four roads lined with shops. In this bewildering system of palaces, streets, lanes, and shops, no stranger could with certainty find his way out. Why do you not destroy them and make one palace and road for the entry and exit of strangers? If you could not destroy what you yourself had made, how can we attempt to destroy old religions of different sages and replace them all by one? Besides the various religions satisfy various cravings and tastes of men. He who is endowed with humane feelings will find pleasure in Jainism. Whoever is bent on pleasure-seeking will find satisfaction in the cult of the Kaula Tantrics. Whoever wants to follow the natural trend of mankind (Vyavaharthi) may follow the Vedas and whoever desires emancipation has pleasure in philosophy. Such being the natural variety in tastes, how is it possible to compel mankind to cultivate a single phase of taste?"

After listening to the speech of Suracharya, king Bhoja gave up his mad desire and entertained the assembly of scholars with a sumptuous dinner and presentations.

Suracharya also succeeded in removing the lurking enmity between king Bhoja and king Bhima.

Suracharya paid a visit to the Sanskrit college established by Bhoja in his capital. In addition to literature and philosophy, grammar was also taught there and the text book which the professor of grammar used in teaching grammar was one which king Bhoja himself had made. When the professor sang the introductory verse in which the goddess of speech was described as a wife of Brahma, Suracharya said that with countries customs also changed and that while for the

southerners it was usual to marry the daughters of the maternal uncle, the people of Surashtra married the widow of their dead brother and asked the professor whether with the people of Avanti it was a custom to marry their own daughters as Brahma was said in the introductory verse to have married his own daughter, Sarasvati.

Abhayadeva.

While king Bhoja was ruling over Malava, there came two young learned men, called Sridhara and Sripati and paid a visit to Dhara. They halted in Dhara as guests of Lakshmidhara, a learned man in the same city. The next day after their arrival his house caught fire and was reduced to ashes. Lakshmidhara was sorry not so much for the destruction of his house as for the loss of accounts of about 20,00,000 gold tankas recorded on one of its walls. The guests however succeeded in reading and restoring the accounts. Meanwhile Vardhamanasuri, a Jaina teacher paid a visit to Dhara. The two guests had the pleasure of seeing him. They studied Jaina philosophy under him and thenceforward became known as Jainesvara and Buddhisagara.

At that time Durlabha was the king of Srimatpattana. As a Saivait he prohibited the entrance of the Jainas into his capital. At the request of Vardhamanasuri, Jainesvara and Buddhisagara promised to get the prohibition removed. Accordingly they went to Srimatpattana and resided with Somesvara, the Brahman priest of the king. Charmed with their learning, the priest requested the king to remove the order and allow the two Jaina teachers to live with him. The king was pleased to cancel the order and permit learned men of all religions to have free entrance into his capital. By way of praising the king for his impartiality, they narrated a story related to Srivanaraja of the Chapoikata dynasty. That king, they said, was a Jaina in religion, as he was brought up and educated by Devachandrasuri of Nagendragachha. At the request of his teacher, he built a special suburb for the residence of the Jainas. The Jainas however requested him to pass an order prohibiting the stay of the followers of other religions in their midst. Then a Saivait called Jnanadeva raised an objection against the proposed rule unless similar suburbs were also constructed for the followers of other religions. The king sympathized with Jnanadeva's objection and built different suburbs for different religions.

Buddhisagara wrote a work on grammar and called it after his own name. Jainesvarasuri once went to Dhara again and happened to meet Abhaya, son of a merchant called Mahidhara. He converted him to Jainism and taught him Sanskrit. Having taken the consent of Vardhamanasuri, Jainesvarasuri raised Abhayadeva to the status of a suri. When Jainesvarasuri and Vardhamana died, Abhayadeva was at the head of the Jaina monastery at Anahillapura. There was a terrible famine at that time and all Jaina colleges had to be closed for a number of years. Accordingly learned men became rare and Abhayadeva considered it necessary to reduce oral learning to writing and preserve manuscripts in libraries. For this purpose he sought help from Bhima, king of Anahilla and with the three lakhs of Drumma which he received from king Bhima he employed eighty-four

copyists to copy manuscripts in each of the villages, Tamralipti and Asapalli, and distributed the manuscripts to the Suris of various Jaina monasteries.

Virasuri.

In Pandillagachha, a branch of the Chandragachha, there lived Bhavadeva Suri whose disciple was Vijayasimhasuri. Vijayasimha's disciple was Srivirasuri. He was a friend of king Siddharaja. Once when the king said in joke that the power which Vira had exercised was all due to his friendship with the king, Vira was displeased and left his country at once. He went to Sripattana, the capital of Jayasimha, king of Gurjara. After residing there for some time he went to Mahabodhapura where he defeated a number of Buddhists in dispute. From that place he passed to Gopalagiri and was accorded a grand reception by the king of that place. Then he went to Nagapura and declined to accept the invitation of Siddharaja. Then he left for Arupagrama not far from Anahillapura and was received by Jayasimha, king of that city. There he defeated in dispute Vadisimha, a Sankhya philosopher, in the presence of the king and Govindacharya, whose friendship was sought even by Karmaraja.

Devasuri.

There was a kingdom called Ashtadasasati (one hundred and eighteen) in Gurjara. There was a fortified city known as Maddhahrita in it. In that city there was a householder called Naga, a descendant of the Wata family. His wife was called Jinadevi. His son was called Purnachandra. When an epidemic disease broke out in the city Naga with his family left for Bhrigukachhapura in the country of Lata. There was in that city Munichandrasuri at the head of the Jaina monastery. Seeing Purnachandra, Munichandra requested his parents to make a gift of him to the Jaina Sangha. They made him over to Munichandra. The boy was educated and was called Ramachandra. Having become an expert in debate he conquered a number of learned men in cities such as Dhavalaka, Kashmirasagara, Satyapura, Nagapura, Chitrakuta, Gopalagiri, Dhara, Pushkarini and Bhrigukshetra. Among his friends there were Vimalachandra, Harichandra, Somachandra, and Parsvachandra. When Munichandra grew old, he was made the head of the Jaina monastery in Anahillapura and was given the name of Devasuri.

Once when he was going up the mountain called Arbuda with Ambaprasada, Vijayasimha's minister, the minister's leg was smitten by a scorpion. Devasuri cured it by applying the water with which he first washed his own legs. One Devabodha, a born poet and scholar belonging to the Bhagavata sect was a friend of Devasuri. With the money contributed by a generous wealthy man named Bahada, he built a number of Jaina temples in Nagapura, and other places.

The king of Nagapura called Ahladana held him in high esteem and kept him in his city. Once on this occasion Vijayasimha or Siddharaja, as he is also called, had to raise the siege which he laid to the city of Nagapura because of the presence of Devasuri inside the city. After returning to Sripattana, he invited Devasuri thither during the rainy season and in the next autumn he renewed his siege of the city of Nagapura and captured it. Sometime after this event, Devasuri

went to Karnavati at the invitation of the Jaina Sangha of that place. Meanwhile Kumudachandra, a Digambara Jaina ascetic and the guru of Jayakesi, king of the Karnata and father-in-law of Siddharaja came thither challenging learned men to subdue him in debate if they could. As the Digambaras did not permit women to practise asceticism, he ill-treated an old lady ascetic in Karnavati. At her request and at the request of the Sangha also, Devasuri was compelled to carry on a debate with Kumudachandra and vanquish him. Accordingly Devasuri sent a letter to Siddharaja to arrange for a religious debate between him and Kumudachandra and went to Anahillapura in company with Zhadada, Nagadeva and others. Kumudachandra also went there. It was decided that the defeated should follow the principles and doctrines of the victorious in the debate. All were afraid that Devasuri might sustain defeat and accordingly wanted to bribe Kumudachandra to give up the debate. But Devasuri would be no party to such shameful contrivance. He was confident of his victory. On the side of Kumudachandra there were as umpires Devacharya, Bhanu and the poet Sripala, the king's brother. The arbitrators on the side of Devasuri were Utsaha, Rama and Sagara. In spite of the caution given to Kumudachandra by the king of Magadha, the Digambara ascetic was over-confident. On the full moon day of Vaisakha of Vikrama 1181 the debate began and lasted for twenty days. The subject of the discussion was whether women were by nature entitled to perform penance and attain emancipation. The Svetambaras were for and the Digambaras against the right of women for emancipation. Devasuri argued that Marudevi and other noble women of old are said to have practised penance and attained Nirvana. In their own time there was queen Mayanall, the mother of Siddharaja, who with her religious devotion had a better claim to Nirvana than any man. This was a very delicate instance, against which Kumudachandra could not raise his voice in the presence of the king, her son. These and other instances were produced by Devasuri in support of his syllogistic argument.

It was decided that Devasuri vanquished Kumudachandra. He was however allowed to go on in his own way without submitting to the conditions of the debate. Speaking of the debate Hemachandra is said to have stated that if Devasuri had not defeated Kumudachandra, the Svetambara sect would have been extinct. The king, his ministers, Ambaprasada and Gangali, his brother Sripala and his subjects were all in ecstasy and proud of Devasuri. With the money reward which the king gave to Devasuri he built Jaina temples in various places and set up the idols of Jina and other Tirthankaras.

In his eighty-third year Devasuri installed Bhadresvarasuri in his place and died on Thursday the seventh of the dark half of Sravana in Sam. 1226.

His birth was in 1143, initiation in 1151 and the position of Suri in 1174.

Hemachandra Suri.

While Siddha of the Chalukya dynasty was ruling in Anahillapura in Gurjara, there was in the village called Bandhuka, a merchant called Chacha whose wife was called Pahini, He had a son called Changadeva. There was at

that time Devachandrasuri, disciple of Pradyumnasuri at the head of the Jainas. Once when Pahini with her son went to the Jaina monastery, Devachandra was struck with the intelligence of the boy whose birth he had prophesied on the basis of a dream which Pahini had revealed to Devachandra. He requested her to hand over the boy to him for his education and training in Jaina religion. Changadeva's parents consented and placed him under Devachandra. He was taught Sanskrit logic and grammar and became a remarkable scholar. Later on he was initiated in the Jaina religion and raised to the status of a Suri. He was then called first Somachandra and later on Hemachandra. Siddharaja had a very high regard for Hemachandra and used to consult him on a number of topics of the day. When Siddharaja conquered Malava, he went first to see Hemachandra and receive his blessings after his victorious return from Malava. Once when he paid a visit to Hemachandra's grand library consisting of manuscripts collected from Avanti, and asked Hemachandra about the authors of those manuscripts, Hemachandra praised King Bhoja and showed him the immense number of works which that learned king had written on grammar, rhetoric, astrology, logic, medicine, botany (arut), architecture (vastu), mathematics (anka), omens (sakuna), dreams (svapna), religion, palmistry, astrology, accountancy (ayasadbhava), and politics (arthasastra). Amazed at the monopoly of learning which king Bhoja and his countrymen acquired for themselves, the king asked Hemachandra whether there were no scholars in his own country to rival Malava and requested him to write a work on Sanskrit grammar. Hemachandra said that so long as Panini's admirable grammar is current no Brahman scholar would countenance a new production of grammar. The only course left was to bring the goddess of Sarasvati from Kashmir to the country of Gurjara, to collect manuscripts from all parts of the country and invite scholars to come and settle. The king at once despatched a number of scholars to Kashmir to collect manuscripts, and bring pandits from various parts of the country. Some went to Kashmir to worship the goddess of speech so as to induce her to leave the city of Pravara for Gurjara. A Sarasvati temple was accordingly built and an image of the goddess was set up in Anahillapura. A grand library was set up. A number of scholars were engaged to prepare abridgments of voluminous works, and commentaries on important works that could not be easily understood. In the works that were written anew, a new departure was made. At the close of a quarter of a work a verse descriptive of the reigning king and of his predecessors was added and four such verses at the close of the entire work together with thirty-five verses giving the genealogy of the king and the author. For a period of three years copyists three hundred in number were employed in copying down manuscripts old and new and the manuscripts thus prepared were sent to be preserved and made use of for the spread of learning to places such as Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Lata, Karnata, Konkana, Maharashtra, Surashtra, Vatsa, Kachha, Malava, Sindhu, Sauvira, Neapal, Parasika, Murundaka, Gangapara, Haridvara, Kasi, Chedi, Gaya, Kurukshetra, Kanyakubja, Gauda, Kamarupa, Jalandhara with Sapadalaksh (?), Simhala, Mahabodha, Boda Malawa, Kausika and others.

Hemachandra himself wrote about twenty new works, one of which was on grammar. This tremendous literary activity was the result of the express request of king Siddha who said that what reputation his own scholars achieved in the field of learning was his own immortal fame.

When a report of the progress achieved in literary activity was made to the king, he said :—" Blessed is my country where I have been a fortunate accomplisher of such works."

At this time there came to Anahillapura a Kayastha scholar named Kakala, a scholar, learned in eight systems of grammar. Hemachandra appointed him as a professor of grammar in the college. Professors were rewarded with gold bangles, and successful students with gold ornaments, clothes, chairs (sukhasana) and umbrellas. On the fifth of the white half of every month Kakala held a meeting and answered questions put to him on grammar and other subjects.

Once when Siddha asked Hemachandra whether there was any qualified person trained by him to succeed him, Hemachandra pointed to Ramachandra under his training. When on another occasion Hemachandra narrated the story of the Pandavas' departure to the Himalayas at the close of their life, a deputation of Brahmans waited upon the king and complained that the Jainas were Sudras and that they misrepresented the religion of the Pandavas and regarded the ancient Saiva religion with contempt. The deputation urged the king to question the Jainas as to what religion the Pandavas had and whether the Pandavas did not attain emancipation with their religious belief which was quite different from that of the recent Jainas. The Brahmans affirmed that, as Hemachandra was an honest man, he would give no false reply. Seeing some injustice in the complaint of the Brahmans Siddha sent for Hemachandra and questioned him whether the Pandavas had been baptized in Jaina religion.

Hemachandra replied that it was true that no mention was made of Jaina religion either in the Mahabharata or in any of the Sastras. But there was no reason, he continued to say, that whatever was mentioned was a fact and that whatever had no mention, never occurred. It is said that, when, as desired by Bhishma that his body should be cremated where none had been burnt before, his body was taken for cremation to one of the summits of the Himalayas on the assumption that nobody cremated there, there was an utterance from the sky that in that place had been cremated a hundred Bhishmas, three hundred Pandavas, a thousand had been Dronas and an unlimited number of Karnas. Accordingly who could deny that among the ancients there were a few who shared the views of the Jainas? Truth is as eternal as the Ganges. As to the question whether there was any truth in the religion of the Jainas, it was the business of each inquirer to ascertain it for himself. Even in political matters kings did what they considered as true and good from their own point of view, but not from others' point of view.

When on another occasion a learned Brahman called Abhiga questioned Hemachandra whether it was proper for them to narrate in their work so many erotic stories and whether their readers would control their passion, he replied that

though a carnivorous animal, the lion had sexual appetite only once in a year and that though the pigeon lived upon mild grass and fruits, it had been showing its sexual appetite every day. Accordingly sexual appetite did not depend upon what one ate or thought, but on nature and that nature could be controlled by mind.

At this time there came to Anahillapura a born poet called Devabodha, who belonged to the Bhagavatha sect. Hearing of his arrival Siddharaja consulted his brother Sripala by name and distinguished as a poet, as to how Devabodha could possibly be seen. Devabodha had no desire for money and showed no respect to any king. He would on no account pay a visit to any king. At the suggestion of Sripala Siddharaja sent a messenger to Devabodha to tell him to come and see the king. His reply was that he had seen such big monarchs as the king of Kasi and of Kanyakubja and that he had nothing to gain by seeing a petty king like Siddha. If the king however wanted to see him, he might come and enjoy the pleasure of conversing with the poet, on the condition that the king should sit on the floor before the poet seated on his throne. So haughty was Devabodha. Siddha agreed to the condition and went with his brother poet Sripala and seated himself on the floor before the throne of Devabodha, took part in the conversation between him and his brother and was struck with admiration at the extraordinary poetical talent of Devabodha. Sripala was himself a poet of no mean power. Still Devabodha had a great contempt for his poetical capacity and said that, when Sukra with one eye became a famous poet, there was no wonder that Sripala with two eyes had become a king of poets (Kaviraja), as he was usually called.

It was however found out that Devabodha with all his leaning was addicted to drink and sexual pleasures in which he indulged in secret. When his hoard was exhausted, he succeeded in getting money from Siddharaja and continuing his vicious practice. He however went to Kasi and died there by drowning himself in the Ganges. Hemachandrasuri held the learning of Devabodha in high esteem.

Siddharaja had no sons, but liked to have one if possible. So he went on a pilgrimage to the sacred places of the Jainas in company with Hemachandra. Both walked all the way for days together. The king was astonished at the meagre diet which Hemachandra used to take. It was no more than a little rice-gruel (Achămămla). He used to lie down on the bare ground with no sort of bedding or bed sheets. They went to Satrunjayagiri, then to Raivataka, Nemichaitya, Ambasikhara, Avalokana Sringa and other noted places. The more he saw the self-denying practices of Hemachandra, the greater became his respect to him. Then they went to Somesvara temple where Hemachandra also bowed down before the Siva idol along with the king. He said the following in verse at that time :—

"Salutation to thee ; thou art the one pure spirit, whatever might be the text, manner, name, and form in which thou art described."

On his return to the capital he consulted his astrologers as to his successors. When they said that he would have no son, but would be succeeded by his brother's son Kumarapala, he began to hate his nephew. His genealogy consisted of (1) Karna, (2) his cousin Devaprasada, (3) his son Tribhuvanapala, (4) his son

Kumarapala, (5) his son Siddha who was no other than Vijayasimha. Kumarapala, the son of Sripala, Siddha's brother came to know that the king would not hesitate to murder him. He fled from the country disguising himself as an ascetic with twisted blades of hair. He was still pursued and once he had to take shelter with Hemachandra under a heap of palm-leaf manuscripts'; on the second day in the house of a potter in the capital. On the third day he went to one Udayana in Stambhatirtha who on knowing him through his own servant refused to lodge him in his house, apprehensive of the king's displeasure. Hemachandra was then in Stambhatirtha and advised him to leave the country for good for seven years. He had no food for four days then. Hemachandra gave him forty gold pieces and assuring him that in the course of twelve years he would be the king of Gurjara and a mighty monarch, compelled him to go far beyond the border of Gurjara and live somehow or other in any strange land. Having spent about twelve years as an exile, Kumarapala returned to Anahillapura on hearing the news of Siddharaja's death. His brother Kirtipala and his sister's husband Krishna with ten thousand horses joined him. After bowing down to Hemachandra, they all went to the palace where were gathered the leading citizens of the city. The question was which of the brothers deserved the kingdom. On entering into the palace Krishna told the two princes to sit. Kirtipala bowed down to the assembly of the citizens and sat on the floor with his eyes blinking. As to Kumarapala, he went boldly and sat on the throne, shrugging his loose garments. Struck with his manners and attitude, the assembly declared in one voice Kumarapala as the chosen king and crowned him.

His first business was to restore peace in the country and confirm old officials. Next he turned to conquest and led an army to the country called Sapadalaksha. After a hard fight protracted for twelve years, he conquered Arno, the king of Sapadalaksha. His brother Kirtipala invaded Surashtra and subdued Navaghana, the king of that country.

With the help of his ministers, Ambada and Vagabhata, son of Udayana, he conducted the administration of the country as a statesman. He built a number of Jain temples and set up huge Jaina idols at the instance of Hemachandrasuri. Slaughter of animals was strictly prohibited. He never plundered the people of conquered territory. Nor did he take possession of unclaimed property which he distributed on charity. His minister Ambada subdued Mallikarjuna, the king of Konkana and Sahasranavaka, the king of Lata. For these and other conquests he was given the title of "Rajasamhara." The king of Nattala became a feudal chief.

Following the instructions of Hemachandra, he became a Jaina and relinquished Saiva religion.

Hemachandra was born in Samvat 1145, initiated in 1150, elevated to the position of Suri in 1166, and died in 1229.

SOME PALLAVA INSCRIPTIONS.

K. G. ŚANKARA.

---

1. *Māmanḍūr* (6 miles south of Kānchī).—The Māmanḍūr cave has a Samskrt Grantha inscription of 17 lines which Dr. Hultzsch, Mr. Gōpīnātha Rao, and Dr. Dubreuil found illegible. But the last made out मत्तविलासादिपदम्प्रहसन, and ascribed the inscription to Mahēndravarman I, as he had the titles Matta-vilāsa (Pallāvaram inscription. *Annual Report on Epigraphy—A.R.E.*, 1909; No. 14; Trichi inscription. *South Indian Inscriptions—S.I.I.*, Vol. I, Nos. 33 & 34), and wrote the *Matta-vilāsa-prahasana* (*Trivandrum Samskrt Series—T.S.S.*, No. 55) My study, from photos kindly lent by Dr. Dubreuil, gave results promising fresh light to a close scrutiny with clear estampages. I read Mahēndra's titles Nitya-vinīta (ever-humble) and Satya-sandha (true to his word) (Trichi inscription), thus confirming Dr. Dubreuil's inference. There are also references to Vyāsa, Kavīs, Vara, and varṇa, showing that the inscription is a record of Mahēndra's literary and musical work. It, in fact, mentions his farce *Matta-vilāsa-prahasana*, a vrtti named *Dakshiṇa-chitra*, and a varṇa *Chandrārṇava* composed by him. The MS. अवन्तिसुन्दरीकथासार says that Mahēndra made gānas, evidently referring to the चन्द्रार्णव, etc. मत्तविलासप्रहसन may mean 'the farce composed by Matta-vilāsa', or 'the drunkard's frolic, a farce,' thus indicating its theme. The inscription refers to Mahēndra's prosperity, and we may perpaps infer that he had not yet been deprived of the Telugu districts by Pulakēśin II. If so, the inscription would date *c.* 600 A.C. The flow of the lines indicates that the inscription is mostly in verse. I give here the inscription-text, so far as I have made it out :—

L.—1. · · · · [वृ]त्तिमह्यविलोकित · · स्तव · · स्त्रमखिल · · [न]रे[न्द्र] · ·

2. · · · · धर्म · · स्वभावकालमास · ·

3. · · · ·

4. · · · · सच · ·

5. · · · · गुणसर्व्व · ·

6. · · · · च नाशकम् ॥ व्यासकल्पस्य · · मतविलासादिपदम्प्रहसन · ·

7. · · · · प्राभृत · · समुत्तेजित · ·

8. · · · · भ्रमरीवाप्तसम्मदा ॥ या कवि · · कवि · ·

9. · · · · धर स्वरवर्ण्णया पुरातपुः कविगिरा · ·

10. · · · ·

11. · · · · प्रविभज्य · · वृत्तिं दक्षिणचित्राख्यं · ·

12. · · · · कश्चविविधैः कृत्वावर्ण्णं चन्द्रार्ण[व] · · ॥ अप्राप्तपूर्व्वन्निर्वेष्टुं · ·

13. · · · · [श्रुतिगुणावकीर्ण] पुण्यसम्पदा · · दृ[ष्टा] · ·

14. · · · · ॥ संस्या[शीलति] · · स्वयत · ·

15. · · · · [स्कंधाख्येन]चन्द्रले · ·

16. · · · · [पक्ष] · · ॥ नित्यविनीत सत्यस · · अनन्य · ·

17. [श्रित]तरा · · पुरीवर · · वद · · पति · ·

2. *Mēlachēri* (South Arcot District).—This inscription is a short verse given below from the plate in Vol. I of *Pallava Antiquities* :—

कारितमिदं नृपतिना चन्द्रादित्येन स(ा)र्व्व[भौ](मे)न (।)
श्रीशिखरिपल्लवेश्वरमिति शैवन्धामासिम्हपुरे(॥)

It is written in a script dating between the reigns of Mahēndra I and Rājasimha. The Chandrāditya, mentioned herein, must be a Pallava, as the temple built by him was called शिखरिपल्लवेश्वर. So he must be Narasimha I or Paramēśvara I. The latter had the title Lōkāditya (*S.I.I.*—i, 13). It is not likely that he had the title चन्द्रादित्य also. Besides, Chandrāditya was an emperor (सार्वभौम). This would properly apply to Narasimha I, who took the Chāḷukya capital Bādāmi, rather than to Paramēśvara I, who only repulsed the Chāḷukya invasion (*ib.* i, 154 ; ii, 371). So Chandrāditya was probably a title of Narasimha I, and the inscription dates *c.* 650 A.C. The Simhapura mentioned here the name Mahēndra of some Pallavas, and the title Mahāmēgha of Mahēndra I (Kānchī inscription) indicate that the Simhavishṇu dynasty were, in some way, related to Kalinga, whose old capital, as mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription, the *Śilappadhikāram*, and the *Maṇimēkhalai*, was Simhapura, whose chief mountain is Mahēndra, and whose Khāravēla dynasty bore the title Mahā-mēgha-vāhana.

3. *Panamalai* (South Arcot District).—Round the base of the rock-built temple on the Panamalai rock there is a Samskrt Grantha inscription, first edited by Dr. Dubreuil, with a faulty text and translation (*Pall. Ant.*, pl. i). The beginning and the end of the inscription are hidden by a structure in front of the temple. Towards the middle, too, a stone is missing. The editor failed to notice that the inscription is in verse. It informs us that Aśvatthāma's son Pallava was the first king of the dynasty, and that Rājasimha, the son of Ēkamalla Paramēśvara I, was an ardent Śaiva, and valiant in battle against insolent enemy kings. But the *Kānchī-Māhātmya* (ch. 30) says that Pallava and Villava were the sons of the Vidarbha King Virōchana, the son of Krshṇa's wife's brother Rukmi. Perhaps the Pallavas claimed Brāhmaṇ ancestry, when the origin was forgotten. Ēkamalla was a title of Paramēśvara I (*S.I.I.* i, No. 24); and परमादीश्वरादात्तजन्मा, supplied from *S.I.I.*, i, No. 25, suggests that Rājasimha's father was named Paramēśvara. That Rājasimha was a Śaiva is well-known (*ib.* i, Nos. 24 & 25 ; ii, 370 ; Vēlūrpāḷaiyam pls., vol. ii, pt. 5). Rājasimha was a distinctive title of Narasimha II. The inscription thus dates between 675 and 700 A.C. The text of the inscription is as follows :—

· · · · नोदपादि प्रथितभुजबलो द्रोणिरंशः पुरारेः ॥
अश्वत्थाम्नोध तस्मान्निचितगुरुतपोनिर्म्मलादाविरासी-

दाम्नायादंगविद्याविसरइव महीवल्ल(भः पल्ल)वाख्यः(।)
यस्मादेप(स्सदाधे)पथिविहितपदात्पावने माननीयो
मन्दाकिन्या प्रवाहः शशिनइवमहानन्वयः पल्लवानाम् ॥
सम्राजामश्वमेधावभृथविरजसां भूभुजां पल्लवाना-
मरपृष्टापल्लवानां विमलतरभरद्वाजवंशोद्भवानाम् (।)
केतोरत्षीणबाहुद्रविणहृतमहीचक्रविख्यातकीर्त्ते-
र्व्योदेवादेकमल्लाद्गुहइवपर(मादीश्वरादात्तजन्मा ॥)
· · · · भुजद्द्रविणावभासी सत्त्वोर्ज्जितः समरदृ[ष्]टमहाप्रभावः(।)
यो राजासिंह इति विश्रुतपुण्यकीर्त्तिरुद्वृत्तशत्रुनृपकुञ्जरराजसिंहः ॥
हर्त्ता द्विषद्वर्गासमुच्छ्रयाणां कर्त्ता च कल्याणपरम्पराणाम् (।)
चित्त सदासंभृतभक्तिपूते धत्ते पदं यस्य मृगांकमोळिः ॥
संरूढामृताय[च] · · मयानेकशाखासमग्रः
शि · · तेः सलकुसुमकृताकान्तिमालम्बमानाः(।)
सद्वृत्ताम्भोनिषेकैर्द्रुमइवसततन्तप्य[मा] · ·
यैश्छायामृ[-ध]मट-जगतिकलियुगग्रीष्मतप्तेपिधर्म्मः(॥)

4. *Koṭrankuḍi plates* (Tanjore District).—These (5 in number with 8 pp. written on in Samskrt Grantha and Tamizh scripts) were discovered and will be published by Mr. T. N. Subrahmaṇyam of Kumbhakōṇam. Here I give only the subject matter. They say that Aśvatthāma's son Pallava was the dynasty founder. After Vīrakūrcha and others, came king Hiraṇyavarman. His son was the emperor Nandivarman, who became king, while yet young, after defeating all foes (आधत्त ... युवैवराज्यं ... सकलरिपून्विजित्य). His feudatories were Vallabha (Chāḷukya), Kaḷabhra, Kēraḷa, Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, Tuḷu and Kōnkaṇa. The Tamizh part dates in the 61st year of கோவிஜயநந்தி விக்ரமவர்மன். The engraver was the son of Viḍēlviḍugu Pallava Perun-tachchan. The name was evidently adopted after the reigning king. The நந்திக்கலம்பகம் gives the title விடேல் விடுகு to the victor of தெள்ளாறு. Dr. Dubreuil identifies him with Danti's son Nandi. But these plates show the title was used even in the reign of Hiraṇya's son. So the latter not, as Dr. Dubreuil thinks, Danti's son, was the victor of தெள்ளாறு. But Dr. Dubreuil rightly gives Hiraṇya's son, not Danti's son, the reign of 62 years. The plates date between 775 and 800 A.C.

SOME LYRICS FROM THE PURRA-NANURRU.

(*6th Century A. C.*)

K. G. ŚANKARA. *Limitless Food* (*No.* 2.)

The earth of atoms all compact,
The sky above it far upraised,
The air that reaches to the sky,
The fire that has its birth in air,
Water, its unrelenting foe,
In nature like these five great elements,
With patience to thy foes, and broad designs,
With strength and fire and grace, O thou endowed!
O King, whose towns with wealth unceasing teem,
And in whose land, the sun, sprung from thy sea,
Dips in thine own foam-crested western wave.
Great king, whose realms the sky alone doth bound,
Wroth with the five who rode mane-tossing steeds,
Till the twice fifty, who usurped the realm,
And golden tumbai wore, had fought and died,
Thou didst limitless fragrant food supply.
With ministers, whose skill no change can know,
Though milk may sour, sun darken, and the four
Vēdas swerve from the right, unshakeable,
Stand long in fame and strength. Like Podiya,
And golden-peaked Himālaya, on whose slopes,
Small-headed fawn and large-eyed female deer
Sleep in the light of triple fire,
Wherein, at eve, rare offerings Brāhmaṇs burn.

Runaway (*No.* 13.)

Wouldst thou know who this is? He is, no doubt,
Astride the death-like elephant, his broad
Fine chest by arrows torn, aimed so that joints
Of flowered armour, tiger's skin, are shed.
But the elephant, like ships that brave the seas,
And like the moon that swims past countless stars,
While swordsmen hive around, like shoals of fish,
Mahouts unminding, stampedes wild, behold!
O may he, safe and painless, part the king
Of lands by many waters fenced, where fish

Full-grown and liquors strong abound, and where
The plough-men, in their fields, bind up with sheaves
Bright feathers that the woodland peacocks moult!

Proud reply (No. 86.)

Leaning in hut against a pillar strong,
You ask where is my son. I know not where
He now may be. But learn this womb that seems
A cave, wherein the tiger dwelt before
It went its way, the same has given him birth.
So he must appear on the battle-field.

Poor, but proud (No. 159.)

'Since, with my youth, long joyless years are mine,
No death for me'; thus hating life in full,
My mother old with drooping eyes and hair
Like pendant thread, that with a staff for leg
And many small steps, can courtyard scarcely pass;
And my dear, loving wife, careworn and pale,
Her breasts dried up by suckling many babes,
She holds against her waist, and sore distressed,
That nips the tender shoots, sprung from the cut
Uncared for herbs, in saltless water boils,
And, lacking sour milk, without a thought
Of boiled rice, green leaves does chew, and wears
Torn clothes and dusty, yet the god of right
That blames not, as she eats. While these dear hearts
Rejoice, as also my dependant kin,
That suffered from the pangs of hunger keen,
As I spread wide thy fame, who gifts bestow,
Like rumbling rain, that, with a splash, does brench
Dark, beauteous, but through heat unyielding crops,
Sown with wild grain in dry lands wide outspread,
That hunters tilled, well mixed with bushes burnt.
If, keen speared Kumaṇa, thou thus well-pleased
Release me though with less, I glad accept
Than elephant, wild and rare, with tusks upraised,
But given, face turned aside, unwelcome boon.
Such gift I seek from thee, whom I have sung,
O thou, victorious, formed afar, and sprung
From blameless and distinguished line of chiefs.

Futile flower (No. 242).

Since Śāttan, strong-speared, who his manhood proved
Against his foes, is dead, no more the young
Wear flowers, nor pluck them bangled girls, nor wears

The bard, by yāzh-head gently taking them,
Nor songstress sweet. Why then dost thou too bloom,
O jasmine, in the lad of Ollaiyūr?

Lost youth (No. 243).

Now we but think and grieve. While girls adorned,
With flowers plucked, wet sandy dolls, and played,
Cool lake beside, the unlearnèd youthful days,—
When, with boys who no guile or hiding knew,
Hands linked, now clasping and now swinging from
The myrtle branching high, I climbed the bough
That, near the bank, towards the water hung;
And, while bystanders gazed and wave drops leapt,
I sudden plunged within the water's depth'
And, with its sand, rose up—those days, alas,
Now only grieve. Ah! whither have they fled?
O agèd far we have become, our words
But few, with coughing oft between, and staff,
Sturdy and knobbed, to guide our trembling feet.

Grief futile (No. 245).

However great, how poor my strength of grief,
That cannot free me from my hateful life!
In a bare spot, on the cremation-ground,
Where cactus spreads, on lighted pyre thick-laid
With fuel, on that bright and burning bed,
My love has gone before; but I still live.
The nature of this world, alas, how stange!

Satī (No. 246).

O you, in wisdom great, who cruel seek
To part me from my lord, and not with him,
As you should, bid me go. To widow's life
I cannot be resigned, with squeezed cold rice,
In midst of leaf, untouched by fragrant ghee,
And very white like seeds from, cut by knife,
Cucumber ripe, lined like the squirrel's back,
With white sesamum paste, and vēḷai leaf,
Boiled with the tamarind, my only food;
And bed bare stony ground, without a mat.
The pyre of black wood, in cremation ground,
To you may rare become; but, ah, to me
Since my broad-shouldered lord is dead, the lake,
With water full and budless lotus blown,
Petals unclosed, and raging fire are one.

Helpless (No. 255)

Lest tiger come, I dare not cry for help ;
Nor thee, broad-shouldered, can I lift alone.
O may unrighteous death, that strikes thee sore,
Like me, great trembling feel. The hill-side shade
We will attain. My hand, that bangles clasp
Unnumbered, grasp and walk a little way.

Joy and tears (No. 277).

The woman old, her hair white like the wings
Of cranes that gulp up fish, heard that her son
Had dared the elephant and died ; then felt
More joy than when she gave him birth, and shed
More tears than rain-drops fall from bamboo strong.
That towers above the swaying clump around.

Proud mother (No. 278.)

Hard by a wood, a woman old with veins
Obtruding, parched skin and shoulders shrunk and thin
Heard many say her son had weapons lost,
And fled ; then angry swore, if he had feared,
Close fight, she would her breasts that gave him suck,
Cut off ; and, sword in hand, the ruddy field
Thick with the slain, she searched and found her son
Stretched there, his head severed. O then her heart
Rejoiced far more than when she gave him birth.

TIRUMANGAI AZHVAR AND DANTI DURGA.

By K. G. Sesha Aiyar, *Judge, Trivandram.*

THE Tamil passage in controversy, runs as follows :—

> மன்னவன் தொண்டையர்கோன் வணங்கு நீள்முடிமாலை வயிரமேகன்
> தன்வலிதன் புகழ்சூழ்ந்த கச்சியட்டபுயகரத்தாதிதன்னை

My contention is that வயிரமேகன் is used by the Azhwar in these lines in apposition with மன்னவன் தொண்டையர்கோன். Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar says that the equation of Vairameghan with Tondaiyar-Kon 'involves a phenomenally unusual construction.' He further says that 'the equation, if not positively unsound grammatically, is unusual according to every canon of literary interpretation.' May I ask why it is phenomenally unusual and what canon of literary interpretation it offends? The learned doctor says that he has the support of several Tamil pandits, including, if he mistakes not, Mahamahopadhyaya Sriman Swaminatha Aiyar, for regarding Vairameghan and the Tondaiyar-Kon as two different individuals. Is he sure that there are not equally eminent Tamil pandits who as unhesitatingly hold that the Azhwar does not refer to two individuals, but to only one, namely, Vairameghan, the monarch of Thondai Mandalam? Till Pandit M. Raghava Ayyangar wrote his article in *Sen Tamil* a few years ago, was there any doubt among Tamil scholars as to what this passage meant? It never struck them that to regard Vairameghan as placed in apposition with Tondaiyar-Kon was to put a 'phenomenally unusual construction', opposed to 'every canon of literary interpretation.' At least from the days of Periya Achan Pillai, if not even from an earlier date, that is the construction that has been accepted. Periya Achan Pillai may not claim history as his chief strength, as Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar does; but he was certainly a sound Tamil scholar, whose knowledge of Vaishnava *prabhandams* and other sacred literature was accepted to be of such high order as to induce the Acharya that preceded him to choose him as the fittest person to write the *Irupattu-nalayirap-padi* for the exposition of the *Tiruvaimozhi*. The Acharya's commentary has been accepted as the most authoritative exposition of *Nalayira prabhandam* for over six or seven centuries by Tamilians; and it is very strange that no student of Tamil saw anything unusual or against the accepted rules of literary interpretation in Periya Achan Pillai's exposition of the passage in question. Now, if when Pandit M. Raghava Ayyangar wrote his paper, it had been known that Pallava kings themselves, had as a matter of ascertained history, borne the name or title of Vairameghan, it is extremely problematical if the learned pandit would have discarded Periya Achan Pillai's interpretation of the passage. That at that time, that fact had not been discovered will be patent from the testimony of Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar himself who, writing sometime after the learned pandit's article had appeared,

said: "Among the inscriptions so far brought out, we have not often come across the name (Vairameghan); but to the Rashtrakuta Dantidurga II is ascribed this title in the Kadaba plates published by Mr. Rice." In that state of knowledge, the mention of Vairamegha by the Azhwar acted as a red herring across the track; and the learned pandit thought that Vairameghan and Tondaiyar-Kon were not perhaps descriptive of the same individual, as Periya Achan Pillai had stated, but probably referred to two distinct individuals; and accordingly he construed the passage differently. Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar accepted the learned pandit's interpretation; and he now reinforces it by saying that any other construction of the passage would be phenomenally unusual and would be unsound according to every canon of literary interpretation! Other researchers, however, have even in spite of Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, ventured to hold, as Periya Achan Pillai had done centuries ago, that Vairameghan and Tondaiyar-Kon relate to the same person, *viz.*, the Pallava monarch of Kanchi. Mr. Venkayya, in his paper on the Triplicane inscription of Danti Varman suggested that Vairameghan was probably a surname of the Pallava Danti Pottarasar (Ep. Ind. VIII. 290ff). In his report on Epigraphy for 1916, Mr. H. Krishna Sastri wrote:—"From two records copied at Poyyanur and Kilpulam in the North Arcot District which belong to the second year of a king named Vairameghan (Nos. 150 and 152 of Appendix C), it appears as if there was a king of that name also among the Pallavas...... It now becomes therefore difficult to decide whether the Tondaiyar (Pallava) king Vairameghan mentioned by Tirumangai Azhwar is a surname of Danti Varman of the Triplicane inscription or of a king Vairamegha Varman mentioned in Nos. 150 and 152 of Appendix C...... It might be worth noting that the name Vairameghan was adopted by a son or a subordinate of Aparajita, the last of the Ganga-Pallava kings known so far (Annual report for 1913, p. 90)." It may therefore be taken as ascertained or established history that some of the Pallava rulers of Kanchi bore the name of Vairameghan; and according to Periya Achan Pillai's interpretation, the Azhwar refers in this passage by the term Vairameghan to the Pallava monarch or emperor. If the rules of grammar or hermeneutics do not prevent that interpretation, where is the necessity to drag in a foreign potentate who Dr. Krishnaswami alleges invaded and laid siege to Kanchi?

Except that he wants Tondaiyar-Kon and Vairameghan to refer to two distinct individuals, *viz.*, Nandi II and Danti Durga, Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar does not seem to have quite settled in his mind how the Tamil passage should be explained. He has now apparently doubts about his original explanation of the passage, according to which the Azhwar referred to a contemporaneous siege of Kanchi by the Rashtrakuta Dantidurga who as over-lord was entitled to the respectful homage of the Pallava king of Kanchi. With the knowledge gained from the Velurpalaiyam plates, he says 'it is now possible to take it that both Nandi Varma and Danti Durga stood before the god of the shrine in the position of son-in-law and father-in-law, and the deferential attitude of the Pallava indicated

in the verse may be explained as nothing more than the courtesy due to this particular relationship. We have no hesitation, therefore, in asserting our belief.. ..that the verse under consideration has reference to two rulers, the local Pallava ruler of Kanchi and the foreign Rashtrakuta Vairamegha, the former enemy and perhaps at the time the friendly ally and father-in-law of Nandi Varman, the Pallava...... We still hold that the stanza means that Vishnu at Ashtabhuyakaram was worshipped 'on one occasion' by Vairamegha whose fame and forces lay around Kanchi at the time, and was held in deferential esteem habitually by the king, the ruler of the Pallavas.' Now, what does all this mean? Was the alleged siege of Kanchi synchronous with the time when the Azhwar sang the hymn? Was it during the siege that the Rashtrakuta and the Pallava together 'on one occasion' worshipped at the shrine? If so, how can they have been friendly allies at the time? Or perhaps even before this siege the two monarchs had effected between themselves the 'particular relationship' of son-in-law and father-in-law; and so, after all, the 'habitual deferential esteem' in which the Pallava held the Rashtrakuta had nothing to do with the siege or conquest of Kanchi, but was due to the observance of a social convention? Or does the passage really import that at the time it was sung, the Pallava owed political allegiance to a superior potentate? And perhaps the political subjugation of the Pallava was even antecedent to the investment of Kanchi by the Rashtrakuta Vairamegha; for how else could Vairamegha be said to have been held, as Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar says, in deferential esteem habitually by the Pallava king, at the time the former's forces lay round Kanchi? If already the Pallava was subject to and under the protection of Vairamegha, what led to the alleged siege of Kanchi by the latter? Besides what are the words in the passage that yield the meaning that on one occasion the Rashtrakuta king worshipped at the shrine? Was the Rashtrakuta king a Vaishnava? Or did he even belong to the Hindu faith? Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar who accuses others of want of precision does not appear to have been particularly precise in his explanation of the Tamil passage.

Apparently Prof. Krishnaswami Ayyangar regards the siege of Kanchi by Danti Durga as a settled historical fact; for even in his *Short History of Hindu India* he writes in more than one place, without any word of hesitancy, that Danti Durga laid siege to Kanchi (p. 98 & p. 103). Is this siege of Kanchi a historical fact? Apart from the *patigam*, which I repeat, the learned professor has wrongly translated, is there authority for his statement? Perhaps from the Elura inscription (Bom. Gaz., Pt. II, p. 389, Epi. Ind. IX, No. 4) we may infer that Danti Durga subjugated the Pallava kingdom of Kanchi, though I think this is a matter that requires further looking into. It is also probable, according to the Velurpalayam plates, that Danti Varman, the Pallava king, was a grandson of Danti Durga. A war and a marriage, supposing they are facts, do not necessarily imply also a siege; and I venture to suggest that the learned professor is solely influenced by his peculiar understanding and translation of the words of Tiru Mangai Mannan, when he posits a siege of Kanchi by Danti Durga. Prof. Dubreuil thinks it is a

fiction for which the learned professor of Indian History and Archæology in the University of Madras is responsible; and so far as I know no other archæologist or historian has mentioned a siege of Kanchi by Danti Durga.

Supposing Kanchi fell before Danti Durga and the Pallava was reduced by him to subjection, I still think it is improbable—to my mind it is almost impossible—that the Azhwar's reference could be to any such humiliating event. It is clear from other portions of Periya Tiru Mozhi, that the Pallava kings of Kanchi, as the Azhwar knew them, were in the plenitude of power, and occupied a position of supremacy among rulers. Reference may be made to Parameswara Vinnagara patigam, Tiru Chitrakuta patigam, Tiru Aranga patigam and Tiruvallikeni patigam, where the Pallava monarch is spoken of in strains of praise and in some places, of even extravagant praise. To the Azhwar, the Pallava of Kanchi was the ideal emperor among monarchs, the invincible victor among kings. At his feet kings bowed in homage and his might in war was irresistible. Kanchi was the chief city of the Pallava, and the temple at Kanchi held the idol of his tutelary deity. One can easily understand if the Azhwar in praising the deity at Kanchi also praised the Pallava to whose care and munificence the temple at Kanchi owed its position and splendour, among Vaishnava shrines. But is it probable that on such an occasion he would refer to the siege of the holy city and the humiliation of its guardian by a foreign invader, of whom it is not possible to say that he lived and died in the consolations of the Vaishnava or even of the Hindu religion? Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has the kindness to tell me that I make the grievous mistake of imagining that the Azhwar's object was anything else than to praise Vishnu. I admire the learned professor's clairvoyance. Admitting to the fullest extent that the Azhwar's object in singing the hymn was to praise Vishnu, I fail to see what sort of praise of the deity it will be to say that the great monarch who is the recognized and traditional guardian of the temple where the idol is enshrined lies low at the feet of a possibly Jaina invader who has surrounded the city by his fame and forces!

All anomalies and difficulties vanish if the commentator's explanation that Vairameghan and Tondaiyar-Kon are one to be accepted; and speaking for myself, I see no reason why it should be rejected. The commentator says that Vairameghan was the family name of the Pallavas of Kanchi; and I wrote in my former paper that if so, one of three explanations for the adoption of that name was possible. I also said that however the name was derived, it was not improbable, as the commentator says, that it was the family name of the Pallavas of Kanchi, and that Danti Durga in the flush of his short-lived victory or ascendancy over perhaps Nandi Varman adopted the title of the conquered Pallava. Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, with the charity that seems to be so characteristic of the article under reference says 'this is a very sorry argument'. It is obvious it does not satisfy him. He thinks that the occurrence of the name Vairameghan among the Pallava rulers of subsequent times must be explained by reference to that title borne by Danti Durga. May I ask how Danti Durga came to assume that title? It was not obviously his

original name ; and some explanation must be offered for his assumption of the title. Will Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar kindly narrate for the benefit of those who like me may seek to be informed of them, the circumstances in which the founder of the Rashtrakuta dynasty took this title? Did it survive to his successors? We find *Vairamegha Vaykkal* (inscriptions Nos. 458 & 465 of 1908), *Vairamegha Chaturvedi Mangalam* (inscriptions Nos. 71 & 84 of 1906) and *Vairameghapuram* (inscriptions Nos. 253 to 258 of 1913) in the Pallava region ; is the name Vairamegha perpetuated similarly in the Rashtrakuta area? However Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar may feel in the matter, I still think in spite of the absence of that name in the pre-Nandi records, that it belonged to the Pallavas, and Danti Durga adopted it perhaps to symbolize his victory over the Pallava.

Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar asserts that, if the Azhwar was in the first line stating that the Pallava worshipped Vishnu, it is not likely that he would have referred to the long crown, but he would much rather have referred to the lotus feet of Vishnu. I do not know if he intends this argument to be taken seriously. Every student of Tamil knows that among the well-known descriptions of Maha Vishnu in his manifestation as Tiru Vikrama are நீள்முடிமால், நிலங்கடந்த நெடுமுடியண்ணல், கதிர்முடித்திருநெடுமால், நெடியமால், நெடுமால், நெடியவன், நெடியோன் and similar expressions. The term நீள்முடிமாலை standing by itself would naturally be construed as referring to Maha Vishnu in the accusative or objective case. Dr. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar calls attention to Tiru Aranga patigam, where the Azhwar describes the Pallava as துளங்கு நீள்முடி அரசர் தம்குரிசில் ; but I for one fail to see the relevancy of the citation. *Nil Mudi Mal* is obviously distinct from *Nil Mudi Arasar;* and the latter expression cannot show that *Nil Mudi Malai* in the patigam does not refer to Maha Vishnu and that it should be construed to mean 'wearing a long crown and garland.' But suppose மாலை must perforce be taken to mean, in the context, *garland*; what is there to prevent the entire expression வணங்கு நீள்முடிமாலை as attributive to Vairameghan, வணங்கு being taken to qualify நீள்முடி? The meaning would then be, Vairameghan, whose garland the crowns of the kings bowing before him or paying homage to him constitute (*Vide* தமிழ்வரலாறு by Rao Bahadur K. S. Srinivasa Pillai, Pt. II, p. 124). Then, too, Vairameghan will be in apposition with Tondaiyar-Kon, and both terms will denote the same individual. If to the Azhwar the Pallava monarch was the king of kings (அரசர்தம்குரிசில்) at whose feet many kings bowed in submission (பலவேந்தர் வணங்கு கழல் பல்லவர் மல்லயர்கோன்) it appears to me difficult, not to say impossible, to accept the meaning assigned to the Tamil passage by the learned professor, according to which the central idea is the abasement of the Pallava in his own capital city by a stranger who has suddenly risen from obscurity to power. Even if it were a contemporary historical fact, the Azhwar, it seems to me, would, if he had any delicacy of feeling, have avoided all reference to it ; in any event he would not have spoken in terms of eulogy of the invading foreigner.

As regards Parameswara Vinnagara patigam, my contention was that the

language of the lyric showed that the Azhwar was not singing the praise of a contemporary Pallava monarch, but of a monarch or monarchs who lived before. Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, while conceding that for various reasons his historical conclusion drawn from this peom is of a 'halting character', seems nevertheless to think that Pandit Raghava Ayyangar's view that the reference in that poem is to a contemporary monarch and that monarch is Nandi Varma. Pallava Malla may not be entirely unacceptable. I pointed out that in various places in the poem where reference is made to the Pallava's deeds of valour, the Azhwar uses expressions like *பண்டொருகால், முன்னாள்* and *அன்று*; but these and similar expressions are not, according to the learned professor, inapplicable even in the description of events that have occurred in one's life-time. In support of his statement he refers to a passage in Madhura Kavi Azhwar's eulogium of Nammazhwar, which, however, turns out to be an unfortunate citation. The passage runs as follows :—

கண்டுகொண்டென்னைக் காரிமாறப்பிரான்
பண்டைவல்வினை பாற்றியருளினான்.

I am afraid that Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has misunderstood this passage. He has apparently given a twist to the order of words in the second line, and reading it as *வல்வினைபண்டு பாற்றியருளினான்*, he comments : "The first act of grace of Nammazhwar to Madhura Kavi certainly occurred sometime late in the life of Madhura Kavi himself. If later in life he could have referred to this incident by the term 'pandu', it is hard to understand the impropriety of this term denoting a past somewhat similar in the Parameswara Vinnagaram ten." I am sure this will strike students of Tamil as a strange misunderstanding of the passage. I cannot believe that the learned professor can possibly be ignorant that *பண்டைவல்வினை* is a classical Tamil expression denoting 'the accumulated load of ancient deeds' or 'the *karma* of past lives.' Thus in Appar's Devaram :—

1. *பண்டைவல்வினை பற்றறுக்கும் வகை உண்டு சொல்லுவன்கேண்மின்.*
2. *தொல்வினைக்குழிவீழ்ந்து ;*
3. *முந்திய வல்வினைகள் தீர்ப்பான்றன்னை ;*
4. *பழகிய வல்வினைகள் பாற்றுவானை ;*
5. *பண்டு செய்த பழவினையின் பயன் ;*
6. *பண்டையென்வினைகள் தீர்ப்பார் பழனத்தெம்பரமனாரே.*

So, in Sundarar's Devaram :—

7. *பண்டாழ்வினைகள் பலதீர்க்கும்பரமா ;*
8. *பண்டாழ்வினைகளவை தீர்க்கும்பரமா.*

Again in Manikka Vasagar's Tiru Vasagam :—

9. *குழைத்தாற் பண்டைக்கொடுவினைநோய் காவாய் ;*
10. *முறிசெய்து நம்மை முழுதுடற்றும் பழவினையை ;*
11. *தொல்லைவினைகெடவுந்தீபற ;*
12. *பழவினைகள் பாறும் வண்ணம் ;*
13. *பழமலம் பற்றறுத்தாண்டவன்.*

Instances may easily be multiplied to show in what sense பண்டை வல்வினை and expressions similar to it in import are employed and understood by Tamil poets; and it is passing strange that the learned professor should have mistaken the import of the expression, and thought that பண்டை modified பாற்றி in Madhura Kavi's verse, while in fact it goes with வல்வினை.

I contend that in Tamil usage expressions like பண்டு, பண்டொருகால், முன், முன் நாள் and அன்று generally, though not invariably, denote the dim, distant past. I may invite attention to the following quotations as illustration :—

Sambhandar :—

1. பண்டரவு தன்னரையிலார்த்தபரமேட்டி.
2. பண்டரக்கனெடுத்தபலத்தையே.
3. பண்டயன்றலை யொன்று மறுத்தியே.
4. பண்டெரிகை கொண்டபரமன்.
5. பண்டொருவேள்வி முனிந்துசெற்ற பரிசேபகர்வோமே.
6. தம்பியொடுதாமொருவர் தன்துணைவிகாதல் துணையாக முன்நாள்
   வெம்பியெரிகானகமுலாவுமவர்.

Tirumangai Azhwar :—

7. விடந்தானுடைய வரவம் வெருவச்செருவில் முன்நாள் முன்
   தடந்தாமரை நீர்ப்பொய்கைபுக்குமிக்கதாடாளன்.
8. படைத்திட்டதிவ்வையமுய்ய முன்நாள்........................
   ....தெளியா வரக்கர்திறல்போயவிய
   மிடைத்திட்டெழுந்த குரங்கைப்படையா
   விலங்கல் புகப்பாய்ச்சி விம்மக்கடலை
   அடைத்திட்டவன்.
9. முன்நாள்
   வரிந்திட்ட வில்லால் மரமேழுமெய்து மலைபோலுருவத்தொரிராக்கதிமூக்கு
   அறிந்திட்டவன்.
10. பிறையாருஞ் சடையானும் பிரமனுமுன்தொழுதேத்த.
    இறையாகி நின்றான்.
11. மால்வரையேழும்
    துற்றாக முன்துற்றிய தொல்புகழோனே.
12. பாண்டேன் வண்டறையுங் குழலார்கள் பல்லாண்டிசைப்ப
    ஆண்டார் வையமெல்ல மரசாகி முன்னாண்டவரே.

Sambhandar :—

13. முன் காலனை யுதைத்தவன்.
14. காமனை முன்காய்ந்தநுதற்கண்ணுவன்.

Appar :—

15. அன்று முப்புரந்தீவளைத்தான்.
16. மார்க்கண்டர்க்காக வன்று உரம்பெரிதுடைமைகாட்டி யொள்ளமர்செய்து.
17. அருவரையனைய தோளானரக்கனன்றலறிவீழ்ந்தான்.

Manikka Vasagar :—

•18. கதிர்முடித்திரு நெடுமாலன்று அடிமுடியறியுமாதரவதனிற் சடுமுறண் ஏனமாகி.

19. ஆவா திருமாலவிப்பாகங்கொண்டன்று சாவாதிருந்தான்.

20. தக்கனாரன்றே தலையிழந்தார்.

21. பாலகனார்க்கன்று பாற்கடலீந்திட்டகோலச்சடையர்.

Tirumangai Azhwar :—

22. குலவேழமன்று பொன்றுமையதனுக்கருள்செய்தபோரேற்றை.

23. பார்த்தனுக்கன்று அருளிப்பாரதத்தொரு தேர்முன்னின்று காத்தவன்.

24. பார்மன்னர் மங்கப்படைதொட்டு வெஞ்சமத்து
தேர்மன்னர்க்காயன்று தேரூர்ந்தான்.

Sambhandar :—

25. காய்ந்து வருங்காலனை யன்றுதைத்தவன்.

These instances will suffice to show what sense the expressions பண்டு, பண்டொரு கால், முன், முன்னாள், அன்று, etc., convey generally in Tamil poetic usage. Why then should it be imagined that Tiru Mangai Mannan used these expressions in Parameswara Vinnagara patigam in a different sense? If the expressions are understood in their ordinary, approved sense, then it is patent that the Azhwar refers in the several stanzas of Parameswara Vinnagara patiga where they occur, to a Pallava monarch or Pallava monarchs of ancient days whose high achievements had won universal fame and glory.

So far, I have confined myself to the literary side of the question. For his historical conclusion that Tiru Mangai Azhwar flourished in the 8th century, Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar relies solely on what he calls 'the Danti Durga datum' which he sees in the last stanza of Ashtabhuya Chakararayar patigam, where, as already noticed, the expression Vairameghan occurs. Vaishnava tradition places Tiru Mangai Mannan a considerably long time after Periya Azhwar; and I believe Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar's view is also that Periyazhwar preceded Tiru Mangai Azhwar by some appreciable length of time. If Tiru Mangai Azhwar flourished in the 8th century in Nandi Varman's reign, what is the date of Periyazhwar? In Periyazhwar Tiru Mozhi (IV–2–7), the following lines occur:

கொன்னவிற் கூற்வேல்கோன் நெடுமாறன் தென்கூடல்கோன்
தென்னன் கொண்டாடுந் தென்திருமாலிருஞ்சோலையே.

Here is a specific reference by Periyazhwar to a Pandya monarch, who was apparently a zealous Vaishnava. Tradition associates Periyazhwar with a Pandya of that description, who held the Azhwar in high veneration (cf. பாண்டியன் கொண்டாடபட்டர்பிரான் வந்தான்). Who was this Pandya? The Nedu-Maran of the Azhwar cannot be the Saiva saint Ninra-Sir Nedu Maran, the contemporary of Sambhandar, whom Sundara includes in his catalogue of *tiru-tondars*. The Pandyas, who claimed Sundareswara as their especial tutelary deity, were essentially of the Saiva persuasion, though they were not perhaps anti-Vaishnava. Ko-Maran Nedun Jadaiyan of the Ānaimalai inscription however appears to have been a staunch Vaishnava. I do not undertake to say that this Nedun Jadaiyan is the

same as the Jatila Varman of the Madras Museum plates, who, as the plates disclose, was a Vaishnava *par excellence*. Possibly they are different; but he is apparently identical with the Nedun Jadaiyan of the Velvi-kudi grant. The Ānaimalai inscription bears a date in Kali 3871, which corresponds to 4th November 770 A. C.; and it may not be amiss to assign Periyazhwar to the latter half of the 8th century. If so, it is difficult to see how Tiru Mangai Mannan can also be assigned to that period.

In Nandipura Vinnagara patigam (Periya Tiru Mozhi, V. 10, 7), there appears the line "நந்திபணிசெய்த நகர் நந்திபுரவிண்ணகரம் நண்ணுமனமே". If the identity of this Nandi can be ascertained, one of the limits to Tiru Mangai Mannan's date can be fixed. Though the Pallavas of Kanchi can be traced back to about the beginning of the 3rd century A.C., it is only from the days of Simha Vishnu (575-600) that the dynasty seems to have occupied a position of eminence. After Simha Vishnu, history records two Nandi Varmans-Nandi II (717--779) usually known as Nandi Varman Pallava Mallan, and his grandson Nandi III (830—854). Of these two, the latter according to epigraphical records was a pronounced Vaishnava devotee. Was he the founder of Nandipura Vinnagaram? If so, we should seek for Tiru Mangai Mannan after the first quarter of the 9th century. In the days of the Azhwar, the Pallava power was in the height of glory, if we may judge by the praise lavished upon the Pallava in Periya Tiru Mozhi. The usurper Nandi II, though he assumed the ambitious title of Pallava Malla, met with too many reverses in battle at the hands of the Pandya, Rashtrakuta and others to deserve the terms of extravagant panegyrics employed by the Azhwar; and during the reign of his successor Danti Varman, the Rashtrakuta Govinda III invaded the Pallava empire; and the latter claims to have levied tribute from the ruler of Kanchi. Nandi III who succeeded Danti Varma, re-established the Pallava power and ascendancy (*vide* the Velurpalaiyam plates); and as there is evidence that he was a devout Vaishnava, he may have like other monarchs of old founded a town after his name and built the Vishnu temple there. There will be nothing strange in the Azhwar recording such an act of merit in a royal Vaishnava devotee and praising him in his lyrics, though they may have been primarily intended for the adoration of Maha Vishnu. I make a suggestion that probably Vairameghan was a surname of Nandi Varman III, and that the Azhwar refers to him when in the Ashtapuyagara patigam he speaks of Vairameghan, the king of Tondamandalam, who by his prowess and glory guards the sanctity of the Chakrarayar temple at Kanchi. Thus, I would tentatively place Tiru Mangai Mannan about 850 A.C. and this conjecture as to the date of Tiru Mangai Mannan will also be in accord with Vaishnava tradition which has always placed this Azhwar a long time after Periyazhwar.

·FURTHER NOTE ON THE CUSTOM OF OFFERING HUMAN SACRIFICES TO WATER-SPIRITS.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, ESQ., M.A., B.L.,
Lecturer in Social Anthropology, University of Calcutta.

IN my paper "*On some Vestiges of the Custom of offering Human Sacrifices to Water-Spirits*" which was published in this Society's *Journal* for July 1922, I have adduced some evidence to show that, in ancient times, the custom of offering human sacrifices to water-spirits for the purpose of coaxing them into filling newly excavated tanks with water was prevalent in some parts of Eastern Bengal.

To this evidence I shall now add the following further testimony, which I have recently come across and from which I can conclusively infer that the aforementioned custom was prevalent, in ancient times, in the district of Dacca in Eastern Bengal.

Womenfolk living in the village of Krishṇapur in the district of Dacca in Eastern Bengal ceremonially worship a village-goddess named Sangat Rāṇī either on a Sunday or a Thursday in the Bengali month of Agrahāyaṇa (November-December). She is worshipped with the offerings of three *Chilaipiṭhās* (or cakes made of powdered rice), cocoanuts and some molasses, which are partaken of by the celebrant womenfolk after the *pūjā* has been finished.

After the conclusion of this worship, the legend mentioned below is recited by the officiating priest or priestess, and listened to by the celebrant womenfolk. It is not stated whether the priest who officiates at this worship is a Brāhmaṇa or the *mater-familias* of the celebrant womenfolk's family. I am, however, inclined to think that, as the worship of this village-goddess Sangat Rāṇī appears to be a non-Aryan cult, and as the name of this deity does not occur either in the *Vedas* or the *Purāṇas*, it must be the *mater-familias* who always officiates as the priestess of this cult.

The legend recited is as follows :—A Rājā's son married a grown-up girl who used to worship the village-goddess Sangat Rāṇī. On the night of the marriage, she took from the *Caraṇakulā* * a quantity of powdered rice, made three rice-cakes (*chilaipiṭhās*) with the same, and, by offering them, duly worshipped that goddess. Her husband surreptitiously saw her when she was performing this ceremonial worship, and called for an explanation from her as to what she had been doing. She described to him the details of this worship, and informed him that she was a votaress of the goddess Sangat Rāṇī, and that, as such, she had been worshipping her. But all this explanation did not satisfy him. On the other hand, he grew suspicious about her character.

* The *Caraṇakulā* is the winnowing fan on which various kinds of auspicious objects are arranged and which is waved before the bridegroom and bride by the ladies of their respective families during the celebration of the marriage-rites.

Shortly afterwards, the Rājā's son, accompanied by his newly-married bride started from his father-in-law's place, and sailed homewards by boat. While coming by boat, he threw all his wife's ornaments into the river. These were swallowed by a huge *boyāl* fish (*Wallago attu*). Returning home, they lived happily for some time. In course of time, a son was born to them.

Shortly after the birth of his grandson, the Rājā had a big tank excavated. But, strangely enough, no water came out of it. One night, he dreamt a dream in which he was told that, if he would sacrifice his newly-born grandson and offer his blood to the water-spirit resident in the tank, water would come out of it.

The Rājā informed his son of this dream and persuaded the latter to agree to the proposal of offering his newly-born boy-baby as a sacrifice to the water-spirit. Accordingly the child was offered up as a sacrifice to the tank-spirit, without the knowledge of his mother. Thereupon the tank became filled with water.

Shortly afterwards, the Rājā gave a great feast to which he invited many people from far and near. For the purpose of providing food for this feast, fishes were caught in the river. Among those caught was found the huge *boyāl* fish (*Wallago attu*) which had swallowed the ornaments belonging to the prince's wife.

Strangely enough, no one could dress this *boyāl* fish for cooking purposes. It was only the Rājā's daughter-in-law who succeeded in cutting it open. On ripping up its abdomen, she got back all her ornaments which had been thrown into the river. Thereafter she went to bathe in the newly-excavated tank. There she found her child, hale and hearty as ever, who had been sacrificed without her knowledge but who had subsequently been restored to life by the mercy of the goddess Sangat Rāṇī. The news that the Rājā's grandson had been miraculously restored to life spread far and wide.

In the meantime, the people who had been invited to the Rājā's great feast refused to come and partake of it. In the night, the goddess Sangat Rāṇī appeared before them in a dream and reprimanded them severely for refusing to partake of it. Thereafter they all came to his palace and partook of his hospitality.*

---

* For the account of this ceremonial worship, I am indebted to Babu Tārak Chandra Rāy Chaudhuri, B.A., a post-graduate student of anthropology in the University of Calcutta.

THE HOME OF THE SATAVAHANAS.

By T. N. Subramaniam, *Kumbakonam.*

THE dynasty that held sway over the Dekkān at the dawn of the Christian Era is the Śātavāhanas. This dynasty was studied vigorously some thirty years ago and was afterwards completely abandoned for sometime. Recently in 1917[1] the question was again taken up by Prof. Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar where he only presents the old views of his father the revered scholar Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. Again, Dr. G. Jouvean Dubreuil[2] took up the question in 1920 and cleared the doubts almost satisfactorily. In some places his work also needs correction. But before we begin to research the materials that go for the compilation of their history, we should mark the position of the Śātavāhanas in the geography and the history of the Dekkān.

The original home of the Śātavāhanas was fixed by some scholars as Āndhradēśa and their capital as Śrīkākuḷam[3] which D. R. Bhandarkar identifies near the confines of the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces[4] This set of scholars have their authority in the Purāṇas which locate the capital of the Āndhras on the east coast. The Purāṇas give a list of kings who are undoubtedly the Śātavāhanas and call them by both the names Āndhras and Āndhrabhṛtyāhs without making any distinction for the word *bhṛtyaḥ* (= servant) and themselves confuse with each other.[5] Thus it becomes our first duty to examine and establish the connexion of the two.

Dr. V. S. Sukthankar is the first to raise this question, and he thinks that the Āndhras and the Śātavāhanas are different from one another for the following reasons :—[6]

(*a*) "In none of the inscriptions (about two dozen in number) engraved during the régime of these kings is there any reference to their alleged affinity with the Āndhras."[7] They are always referred to as Śātavāhanas.

(*b*) Contemporary records, as the Hāthigumpha,[8] Girnar,[9] and Talaganda[10] inscriptions, also refer to them as Śātavāhanas and never as Āndhras.

(*c*) Khāravēla says that he, "without entertaining any fear of Śātakarṇi, sent a

---

1. *Indian Antiquary*, 1917. 'Dekkan of the Śātavāhana period.'
2. '*Ancient History of the Deccan.*' Pondicherry, 1920.
3. *Early History of India* by V. A. Smith, 3rd ed., p. 206.
4. *Ind. Ant.* 1918, p. 156.
5. Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, see 'Āndhras'.
6. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol I, pt. i, pp. 21, etc.
7. Ibid., p. 30.
8. Lūder's List, No. 1345.
9. Ibid. No. 965.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 24, etc., ed. Kielhorn.

large army *to the West*".[1] If it really meant the country of the Āndhras he should say *to the South*.

(*d*) Almost all their inscriptions were found (near Nasik) in Western India and only four of the later kings were found in the Āndhradēśa.

(*e*) Almost all their coins were found in Western India. [2]

(*f*) And, lastly, their inscriptions are in Prakrit, and "no Śātavāhana inscription written in a Dravidian tongue has yet come to light." [3]

I also share his opinion that the Śātavāhanas are not Āndhras and that their original home was not Āndhradēśa.

From what we said above we are led to think that they lived in Western India. But, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar argues that their original home was in the Bellāry district for the following reasons :—

(1) In the Hīra-Haḍagalli grant [4] and in the Myākaḍōni inscription [5] (both of them were found in the Bellāry district) that portion is called Śātāhani-rāṭṭha and Śātavāhani-hāra respectively. The words *rāṭṭha* and *hāra* denote a province and a district respectively. Like all the early inhabitants lending their names to those countries, Śātavāhanas also lent their name to that part of the land.

(2) Since the Śātavāhanas are different from the Āndhras, where is the necessity to call them by the name Āndhras? He explains that "the Śātavāhanas have to be looked upon as belonging to the tribe of the Āndhras" and "this branch had separated itself early from the main stock of the Āndhras (which was settled in the region of the deltas of the Gōdāvari and Kṛishṇa), even before the time of Śimuka and Śātakarṇi, and settled in the west." [6]

Let us examine how far these statements are true? The Hīra-Haḍagalli grant is of the ancient Pallavas, and so it is after the destruction of the Śātavāhanas and the establishment of the Pallava Empire. The Myākaḍōni inscription is dated in the eighth year of the reign of King Puḷumāyi. Dr. Sukthankar identifies this Puḷumāyi with Vāśishṭhiputra, the son of Gautamiputra. [7] But Dr. G. Jouvean Dubreuil identifies him with the last king of the Śātavāhana line. [8] Sukthankar says that "the alphabet resembles that of the Joggayyapēṭa inscription of Purisadata." [7] But "the inscriptions of Purisadata at Joggayyapēṭa have been attributed to the third century (A.C.) by all the authors who have spoken of it, and no one doubts that Purisadata reigned after the Śātavāhanas. The alphabet of the Myākaḍōni inscription is incontestably much more developed than the alphabets of all the other Śātavāhana inscriptions, and very much resembles those of the Chūṭūs and the ancient Pallavas." [8] Again we do not

1. Lūder's List, No. 1345.
2. Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of Āndhras*, etc. (B. M. 1908) See Coins, 1—90.
3. *A. B. I.*, Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 37.
4. *Ep. Ind.*' Vol. I, p. 2.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 153 —See also Report on Epigraphy for 1915-16; Madras G. O. No. 99, 29th Aug. 1916, part II, No. 1, page 112. Inscription No. 509 of Appendix B.
6. *A. B. I.*, Vol. I, part I, p. 41.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 153.
8. *Ancient History of the Dekkān*, p. 51.

find the usual prefix of Vāśishṭiputra of the son of Gautamiputra. So, this also belongs to the last days of the Śātavāhana line. Thus the Bellāry district was known by that name only at the beginning of the third century A.C.

According to Dr. Sukthankar, the whole theory rests on the question : 'How the Bellāry district came to be called by that name ?' It is certain that the later Śātavāhanas ruled along the east coast of the Dekkān. A large number of coins with "the ship with two masts" on the obverse and "the Ujjain symbol" on the reverse, have been found along the Coromandel coast as far as Cuddalore. These ship coins are special to that part and the "Ujjain symbol" indicates the Śātavāhana dynasty. Prof. Rapson has been able to decipher the inscription on them and read it to be "*Śri Puḷumāvi*."[1] I attribute this also to the last king of the line. Again, we also know of the ship coins of Yagña Śri on the east coast.[2]

Thus the inscriptions and coins of the later Śātavāhanas are found only on the east coast and not in the Western India, the seat of early inscriptions and coins. How does this happen? The Junāgaḍh inscription bears the answer to this question. There he says that by his own valour (Svavīryy-ārjjtānāṃ) gained Ākrāvanti (Māḷwā), etc., destroyed the Yaudhēyas, "defeated Śātakarṇi, lord of Dakshiṇāpatha, but on account of the nearness of their connexion did not destroy him," but himself acquired the name of Mahākshaṭrapa.[3] An inscription at Kāṇhēri, which "exhibits the neat characters of Western Kshatrapa inscriptions"[4] mentions the queen of Vāśishṭhiputra Śri Śātakarṇi, as the daughter of Mahākshatrapa Ru[dra].[5] We know of three Śātavāhanas who bore the name Vāśishṭiputra, the great Puḷumāvi, Śiva Śrī, and Chanda Śrī. It is impossible to bring in the great Puḷumāvi, because he was the contemporary of Chashtaṇa,[6] and so it becomes impossible for him to have married the great-grand-daughter of Chashtaṇa. So, Vāśishṭhiputra is no other than Śiva Śrī or Chanda Śrī.

The coins of Yagña Śrī "are similar in fabric and style to the Kshatrapa coins,"[7] and resemble those of Rudradāman.[8] For this, Yagña Śrī should have some connexion with the Kshatrapas, and it is more probable that his mother was the daughter of Rudradāman. On an examination of the coins Rapson thinks that Chanda Śrī is the immediate predecessor of Yagña.[9] Thus it is more probable that our Vāśishṭhiputra is Chanda Śrī.

From what we said above we shall propose the following theory : "*About the middle of the second century A.C. the Kshatrapas became more powerful in Western India and conquered the Śātavāhanas. The Śātavāhanas, who once ruled all over the Dekkān, did not want to rule there as feudatories of the Kshatrapas, and so they*

---

1. Rapson's *Catalogue*, p. 22.
2. Ibid, pl. VII.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 47 and Lūder's List 965.
4. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 43, Bühler.
5. Lūder's List, No. 994.
6. *Ind. Ant*, Vol XIII, p. 366, Ptolemy.
7. Rapson's *Catalogue*, 87.
8. Ibid, pl. VII.
9. Ibid, pp. 30 and 32.

moved to the east coast." In moving to the east they had to conquer many countries, and in a similar way Bellāry went under their sway. Thus, it is more probable that they named the conquered country by their name as is the case of other nations and especially among the Chōḷas which can be seen from their inscriptions.

The learned doctor says that the Śātavāhanas have *no* connexion with the Āndhras, but later on says that they are a branch of the Āndhras. For his conclusion; his arguments which I have shown at the beginning of the essay are contrary. If they are a branch of the Āndhras why is not any trace of Dravidian found in their inscriptions? Are they betrayers of their original tongue? Again according to him their migration should be before their history begins; *i.e.*, *circa* fifth century B.C. The Sanskrit works of that time evince that even the Daṇḍakāraṇya was not explored fully and we need say about the Tamiḻ land. Thus it is not probable to suppose that a ruling family migrated to the Mahārāshṭra province from the Bellāry district in the fifth century B.C. when we do not have any trace of Dravidianism in them.

The second reason of Sukthankar is based on the first. Since we have shown that the first is baseless, the second also follows that. We shall now see how the Purāṇas apply the name Āndhras to the Śātavāhanas. I have shown above that the Śātavāhanas ruled the Āndhradēśa from *circa* A.C. 140. At that time we do not know of any Āndhra king, and so we are led to conclude that they lived as feudatories of the Śātavāhanas. We know that the Purāṇas were written only after the third century, and so they were fresh with the Śātavāhanas; and, since they ruled over the Āndhras, they were called by the name Āndhras.[1] In this connexion it should be borne in mind that the inscriptions of the Śātavāhanas are all in Prakrit, and not in the Dravidian tongue, and they imported that language even in the Āndhradēśa, since we find their inscriptions there and those of the ancient Pallavas who ruled there, in Prakrit.

Thus, the Śātavāhanas have no connexion with the Āndhras, and their original home is in Western India. The Jain legends say that Prathishṭāna (Paithān) on the Gōdāvari is the capital of Śālivāhana.[2] Ptolemy, the Greek traveller, says that Baithāna (Paithan) is the capital of Siro Puḷomoi (Śrī Puḷumāyi).[3] Thus, Paithan was their capital from the ancient times and they have no connexion with the Āndhras.[4]

---

1. The rule of *Paśupathi* of the Sanskrit grammarians is applicable here.
2. Jinapprabhā Śūri's *Thirtha-kalpa*. J. B. B. R. A. S., X, 123.
3. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 366.
4. This formed the first chapter of my book *The Śātavāhanas* and the conclusion arrived at here leads us to the elucidation of many intricate points in the histories both of the Dekkan and South India with which I shall deal in the course of the book.

BHASA'S PRATIMA-NATAKA.

BY K. RAMA PISHAROTI, ESQ., M.A., *Ernakulam.*

ACT IV.

(*Then enter two maids.*)

Vijaya—Here, Nandanikā, speak, speak. All the inmates of the harem led by Kausalya and the rest went to see the *Statue-House* to-day, and there they saw prince Bharatha ; but my unfortunate self stood at the door.

Nandanikā—Friend, we luckily saw prince Bharatha.

Vijaya—What did the prince say to the Queen ?

Nandanikā—Say ? Why, the prince does not wish even to see her.

Vijaya—What a pity ! Covetous of the kingdom, she exiled prince Rama and thus ordained widowhood for herself and brought ruin to the world, cruel hearted, indeed, is the Queen, and very wicked her action.

Nandanika—Listen, friend ; the prince has discarded the crown offered him by his subjects and has started for the penance grove of Rama.

Vijaya—(*Sadly*) Hem, the prince gone ! Nandanikā, let us go and wait upon the Queen.

(Exeunt)

Interlude.

(*Then enter Bharatha and Sumantra in a chariot with a charioteer*) (1)

Bharatha—The king has gone to heaven followed by his virtue and I now go, accompanied by the tears of the citizens, to that blessed penance grove to see that other moon of the world, named Rama.

Sumantra—Here is the blessed Bharatha, the son of the king who has crushed the honour of the lord of *Daityas,* the grandson of the king who gave his everything for sacrifice, the brother of Rama, the delight of the world, who always pleased his father, following the path worthy of Rama. (2)

Bharatha—Ha ! Preceptor !

Sumantra—Prince, I am here.

Bharatha—Where is he, my worthy sire, Rama ? Where is he, the successor of his majesty ? Where is he, the ideal of strength ? Where is he, who has been discarded by the kingdom-coveting Kaikeyi ? Where is he, the receptacle of fame ? Where is he, the son of the king ? Where is he, who follows the path of truth ? I wish to see him, my greatest god, who has discarded his prosperity to do pleasure unto my mother.(3)

Sumantra—In this hermitage, prince. Here are Rama and Sita and the

noble Lakṣmaṇa who are the embodiments of truth and good conduct and devotion.*

Bharatha—Well, then, stop the chariot.

Charioteer—As my lord orders (*Do so*) †

Bharatha—(*Getting down from the chariot*) Charioteer, rest the horses a while in a quiet place.

Charioteer—As my lord orders (*Exit*).

Bharatha—Ah preceptor, announce, announce.(4)

Sumantra—What shall I announce, prince?

Bharatha—That the kingdom-coveting Kaikeyi's son, Bharatha, is come.

Sumantra—Enough, prince, of these insulting words about your mother.

Bharatha—Well, it is not proper to speak of others' faults. So, then, announce that Bharatha, the unworthy scion of the Ikṣvaku race, desires audience.

Sumantra—Prince, I am unable to speak thus. I shall simply say Bharatha is come.

Bharatha—No, no. The announcement of the mere name sounds to me as being unexpiated.(5) Are *Brahmicides* announced by another? ‡ So, stop, preceptor. I shall announce myself.

Ho! Ho! Inform, inform the worthy sire, Rama, the obedient son of his father:

Cruel and ungrateful, vulgar and rash—such an one is come, because of his devotion. Shall he wait or go?

(*Then enter Rama with Sita and Lakṣmaṇa*)§

Rama—(*Hearing, gladly*) Sumitri, don't you hear?

Ah, princess of Vidēha, don't you also hear?‖ Whose voice is this which resembles my father's, which in solemnity seems even to rival the roar of clouds? And this, creating thoughts of a friend, lovingly forces itself upon our ears of its own accord (6).

Lakṣmaṇa—Sire, on hearing this voice, there is created, in my mind also, the respect due to a loving kinsman. His voice is indeed full and clear and unfaltering and sweet even like the roar of the mad bull. It is indistinctly sweet when in the pharynx unimpeded and hence quick is its passage in the windpipe. And having passed through the various stages, it emerges as so many distinctly articulated sounds.

---

* C reads स्थिता: ।

† Omit the stage direction.

‡ C reads नपुन: ब्रह्मघ्नानाम् instead of किंज्ञानम् ।

§ C reads सीतालक्ष्मणश्च for सीतालक्ष्मणाभ्याम् ।

‖ R reads किं also before शृणोपि ।

Rama—Any way, this cannot be the voice of a stranger. My heart seems restless. Dear Lakṣmaṇa, see who it is.

Lakṣmaṇa—As my sire orders (*walk about*)[1]

Bharatha—Ah, how now, nobody gives a reply? Can it be that they have recognised in the coming of Kaikeyi's son, Bharatha? (7)

Lakṣmaṇa—(*Looking*)[2] Ha, this is the worthy Rama! no, no; the resemblance of form!

Unique is his face, like that of my sire, and delightful like the moon; broad is his chest, like that of my father wounded with the numerous arrows of the enemies of Devas; commanding is his personality; glorious is his figure and he is the delight of the world! Can he be the king, or the lord of Devas, or Sri Krishna himself? (8)

(*Seeing Sumantra*) Ah, here is the preceptor!

Sumantra—Ah, prince Lakṣmaṇa!

Bharatha—Well, this is my sire (9) Sire, I bow to you.

Lakṣmaṇa—Come, come. Long life to you (*Looking at Sumantra*)[3] (10) What is this gentleman, Sire?

Sumantra—Prince!

This is prince Bharatha, the fourth in descendant from Raghu, the third from Aja, and the second from thy glorious father, and the brother of him, that ornament of his race, whose brother thou art.

Lakṣmaṇa—Come, come, O Ikṣvaku prince! Dear,[4] long life unto thee!

Be thou in valour, like your ancestors, unequalled in prowess, who were clever in fighting the Asuras, and whose bows were equal in strength to Vajra! and be thou on earth the seat of all noble virtues, like the famous Raghu who spent all his treasures in Vedic rituals!

Bharatha—I am blessed.

Lakṣmaṇa—Brother, stop here. I shall inform my sire of your arrival. [5]

Bharatha—Sire, very soon do I wish to offer my obeisance; announce quickly.

Lakṣmaṇa—Well (*approaching*) Hail! Victory, sire.[6] Sire, Here is your younger brother, Bharatha, devoted to his brother, who appears like yourself reflected in a mirror. (11)

Rama—Dear Lakṣmaṇa! Aye, Bharatha has come? (12)

---

1 C omits the stage direction.

2 C adds गत्वा before विलोक्य ।

3 C omits the stage direction and the vocative तात following.

4 C omits the Vocative वत्स

5 C omits the whole of Lakṣmaṇa's speech and भरत and आर्य in the next line.

6 C reads उपगम्य for उपेत्य and omits जयत्वार्यः ।

Lakṣmaṇa—Sire, even so.

Rama—[1] Maithili, open your eyes as wide to see Bharatha.

Sita—Dear, has Bharatha come ?

Rama—Maithili, even so.

Now do I know how hard it was for my father to act. Such is a brother's love; how much more, then, must have been that of a father ?

Lakṣmaṇa—Sire, may the prince come in ?

Rama—Dear Lakṣmaṇa, thou wishest to consult my desire even in this affair ? Go, welcome and quickly bring in brother.[2]

Lakṣmaṇa—As my sire orders.

Rama—Or stop thou. Let her herself go, showing a mother's love for the son, and honour him—her whose eyes are broad like the petals of night-lotus filled with dew, and are dropping tears of joy. (13)

Sita—Dear, as you order (*Rising up, walking about, and looking at Bharatha*)[3] Hem, has my dear so quickly turned up here from there ? No, indeed. Ah, the resemblance.

Sumantra—Ah, here is the daughter-in-law !

Bharatha—Ah, here is the worthy lady, the daughter of king Janaka. [4]

This is that light in the form of a lady drawn out by the plough from the womb of the earth, the summation of the fruit of Janaka's penance. (14)

Mother, I bow to thee, I am Bharatha.

Sita—[5] (*To herself*) Not merely form, but voice also the same ! (*aloud*) Dear son, long life to thee.

Bharatha—I am blessed.

Sita—Come, dear son, and satisfy your brother's desire.

Sumantra—Enter prince.

---

1 C reads अद्यखल्वगच्छामीति here and omits it later on.

2 C omits सत्कृत्य and कुमार: ।

3 C omits this stage direction but reads निष्क्रम्य ।

4 C reads उयंतत्रभवती ।

5 C reads quite different in this context. We give it below :

सीता—णहिरूवंएव्व । सरजोओविसो (प्रकाशम्) एहिवच्छभाद, मणोरहपूरेहि ॥

भरत:—अनुगृहीतोस्मि । तातइदार्नी किंयुक्तम् ।

भारत:—ताततथा (उपगम्य) अभिवादयेति ॥

Translation.

Sita—Not merely form but voice also the same (aloud) come dear son and satisfy your brother's desire.

Bharatha—I am blessed, preceptor, what shall I do ?

Sumantra—Enter Prince, I shall follow afterwards, etc.

Bharatha—So be it (approaching) I bow to you, etc.

This reading seems much better than the one given in the Trivandrum edition.

Bharatha —Preceptor, what wilt thou do now ?

Sumantra—I shall follow afterwards ; this is my first visit to Rama after he has known that his father has gone to heaven. (15)

Bharatha—So be it (*approaching Rama*) Sire, I bow to you, I am Bharatha.

Rama—(*Gladly*) Come, come Ikṣvaku prince. May happiness and long life attend you !

Open out your chest which looks like closed doors and embrace me with your sturdy arms. Raise up your face which is like the autumnal moon and gladden this my sorrow-consumed body. (16)

Bharatha—Blessed am I (*Embrace*)*

Sumantra—(*Approaching*) Hail ! Victory and long life, prince ! (17)

Rama—† Ha preceptor ! The benign king who in former days went in martial array with his arms and aerial cars, similar unto theirs, and won their approbation, being referred to as 'He' by both the *Devas* and the *Asuras*,—can he now, being deprived of his body and of your loving and affectionate selves, find pleasure in heaven in the company of the manes, his royal ancestors ?

Sumantra—(*Sadly*) ‡ The king's death, your exile, Bharatha's sorrow, and the helplessness of the kingdom,—suffering these manifold insufferables, my life has become a broken thread. (18)

Sita—My beloved is crying and you, preceptor, make him cry more.

Rama—Princess, I shall soon control myself. Dear Lakṣmaṇa, water please.

Lakṣmaṇa—As my sire orders.

Bharatha—Sire, it is not right. We shall attend on thee in order. (19) I am going (*Taking a pot, § going out and entering*) Here's water.

Rama—(*Washing*) Princess, Lakṣmaṇa's work is lightened.

Sita—Dear, has he not also a right to attend upon you ?

Rama—Well ; let Lakṣmaṇa attend on me *here* and Bharatha from there.

Bharatha—Be pleased, Sire ! Here shall I with my body live and there with my actions. By your mere name is your kingdom protected. (20)

Rama—Dear, son of Kaikeyi ; no, not so.

Because of the order of my father have I come to the forest and not, dear brother, because of pride, or fear, or misunderstanding. *Truth*, I tell you *is our family treasure*. How then dost thou follow the ignoble path ? (21)

Sumantra—Where, then, shall the coronation water be poured ?

---

* This direction must be added. But the two MSS. that I consulted do not give this.

† C adds the stage direction (*Seeing Sumantra*).

‡ C omits this.

§ C omits कलशं गृहीत्वा ।

Rama—Where my mother ordered, there let it be.

Bharatha—Be pleased, O sire, Sire enough of striking in the wound. • O thou virtuous, thy descent is also my descent. Your father, that seat of wisdom, is also my father. Ah good man, the sons of the mother do not make man sinful; O thou giver of boon, look, then, on the wretched Bharatha in the proper light.

Sita—Dear, pitiable are Bharatha's words. What may my beloved be thinking ?

Rama—Princess! I am now thinking of the king, gone to the abode of gods, who never realized the noble qualities of his son. Having acquired such a treasure of virtue, fie upon it, if fate still exerts itself on noble persons!

Dear brother, O son of Kaikeyi! Thou hast, it is true, pleased me and thou art guileless; and won by your laudable virtues, I am a slave of thy words. But then it is not meet that thou shouldst falsify thy father's words; further, having begotten such as thyself, shall thy father remain untrue to his words ?

Bharatha—Till the end, then, of the period of thy exile, let me be here, O king, at thy feet.

Rama—Not so. May the king attain salvation through his virtues. If thou wilt not protect our kingdom, then on my honour I vow.

Bharatha—Alas for a reply. Well, I govern the kingdom on condition.

Rama—Dear, on what condition ?

Bharatha—I desire that thou wilt take back thy kingdom entrusted to me at the end of fourteen years.

Rama—So be it.

Bharatha—Sire, heard ? Mother, heard ? Preceptor, heard ?

All—We are all witnesses.

Bharatha—Sire, I wish to get one more boon.*

Rama—Dear, what dost thou desire ? What shall I give ? What shall I do ?

Bharatha—These slippers which serve thy feet, give unto me who am bowing down with my head, so that I may be thy servant, till thou achieve thy purpose (22)

Rama—(*To himself*) Ah, † But little fame have I been able to get in the course of even a long time; but now Bharatha has got a treasure of it in such a short time.

Sita—Dear, grant Bharatha his first request.

---

* C reads अन्यदपि.

† C begins the verse directly omiting स्वगतम् and हन्तभोः । and reads एव for अपि in the verse.

Rama—So be it. Dear, receive *

Bharatha—I am blessed. (*Receiving*) Sire, these do I wish to crown.

Rama—Dear Bharatha, do whatever you like.

Sumantra—As my benign sire orders.

Bharatha—(*to himself*) I have won the confidence of my kinsmen and the citizens and the world can now tolerate me. I am again the loving and dutiful son of my father now in heaven ; I have won the esteem of my noble brothers and earned great fame and am object of talk in discussions amongst the virtuous and the contented.

Rama—Dear, thou son of Kaikeyi, the kingdom must not be left to itself even for a moment. So then, return, O prince, even now and be victorious.

Sita—Then, is Bharatha to return even to-day ?

Rama—Enough of over-fondness. Let the prince return even to-day and be victorious ?

Bharatha—Sire, I return even now.

Longing to see you are the citizens waiting in the city. Them shall I make happy by showing this, thy goodwill.

Sumantra--Benign sire, what shall I do now ?

Rama—Preceptor, look after the prince as His Majesty would have done.

Sumantra—I shall try as long as I live.

Rama—Dear, thou son of Kaikeyi, get into the chariot even in my presence.

Bharatha—As my sire orders *(Get into the chariot)*

Rama—Princess, this way ; Lakṣmaṇa this way ; let us follow Bharatha at least to the gates of the hermitage.

(All exeunt)

End of Act IV. †

Notes on Act IV.

The fourth act depicts the meeting of the brothers. This meeting is one of the most dramatic in the whole range of the Ramayana. The anxious doubts and fears of Bharatha, the heavy sadness and despondency of Sumantra, the childish simplicity and devotion of Lakṣmaṇa, the serene composure and sweetness of Rama, the maternal fondness and affection of Sita,—all these, the outcome of mutual

---

* C adds the stage direction (*give*) ; and omits the sentence अनुगृहीतोऽस्मि in Bharatha's speech.

† A couple of months ago I was able to get two manuscripts of Pratima-Nataka. They give some interesting variant in readings, which are given in the foot-notes. The manuscrits of the work of (Bhasa) do not after all appear to be as rare, as the learned editor of the Bhasa-Nataka-Chakra seems to imply.

love and solicitude, are so harmoniously fused together in the fire of traditional Dharma, that they finally resolve themselves into an intensely pleasurable bliss of calm. And this is very much enhanced by the tragic note sounded at the beginning and by the subdued nature of the dénouement of the scene.

The act opens with an interlude where a conversation is carried on between the two maids of the harem, Vijaya and Nandanikā. From this it becomes clear that by his noble resolve Bharatha has won the love and esteem of all in Ayodhya, and has made his mother an object of greater hatred. Further, it helps us to fix the interval between acts III and IV. This interval cannot be more than a couple of days, the period required to travel from Ayodhya to Chitrakuṭa, which as we have mentioned elsewhere is not more than a day and a half (*cf.* note 13, Act III).

1. Unlike in the Ramayana, Bharatha is accompanied only by Sumantra. The ministers, temporal and spiritual and the queens do not accompany him. The reason is clear; for Bharatha's object in going to Rama is *not* to bring him back but to live with him. *Or can it be the result of the practical stage necessity* ?

2. Note the noble eulogy that Sumantra heaps upon Bharatha. The verse is to be taken more or less as a soliloquy, and herein has he emphasized Bharatha's strength and goodness, devotion and love.

3. Here does Bharatha express his supreme haste to see his noble brother. He seems also to suggest the greatness of his mother's wickedness. In this speech of Bharatha and the following speech of Sumantra, we have the gist of Rama's character.

4. Here begins the second stage in the development of the scene. The conversation between Bharatha and Sumantra as to how Bharatha should be announced reveals the great conflict of emotions in the mind of Bharatha. There is the righteous indignation against his mother for making him an inconscious instrument for her apparently villainous purposes; and sorrow and shame; and fear whether his beloved brother will misunderstand him. All these are strong but yet are subordinated to a sense of virtue and decency, thanks to the innate goodness of Bharatha, and the restraining influence of Sumantra. The final announcement has in it something of a tragic pathos which clearly reveals his intense mental struggle.

5. It is held that he who mentions the name of a wicked man is a sinner. So in mentioning the name of such a person the speaker qualifies it to escape from the sin accruing from it. It is with this view that Bharatha says that he should not be announced by the mere mention of his name. His comparing himself to a *Brahmicide*, one who has killed a Brahmin—and the epithets he heaps upon himself produce the greatest pathetic effect.

6. Note the effect produced on the trio in exile. There is a familiar ring about Bharatha's voice that they cannot recognise it; probably because they never expected a visit from Bharatha. Rama feels, however, a premonition of what is going to happen, as is clear from his confession that there is produced a certain *restlessness* in his mind.

7. Note the effect on Bharatha of the gentle delay in responding to his announcement. There is revealed the evident fear that Rama will never understand him aright and hence he is in great agony. This attitude of Bharatha needs, however, no justification. In fact by this stroke our poet has invested him with a great naturalness. So great has been the injury done to Rama in his name, that he cannot bring himself to believe, cannot expect that he would be better treated; and hence the cruel and pathetic soliloquy.

8. This explanation of Lakṣmaṇa also suggests the view that he does not quite recognise Bharatha (cf. note 10, Act III). He sees great resemblance in the newcomer to his brother and father; and he is impressed with his commanding personality, and his glorious stature; but yet cannot make him out. And hence the doubt expressed in the last *pāda* of the verse, whether the newcomer is a king or the lord of the Devas or Sri Krishna himself.

The last *pāda* may however be interpreted in a different way :—"*Who can this king be, the lord of Devas or Sri Krishna himself.*" If we take this view, we have to assume that Lakṣmaṇa has made out from Bharatha's deportment that he is a royal personage.

9. This statement is to be taken as a soliloquy. And coming as it does, after Sumantra's explanation strengthens our view that the brothers cannot recognize each other.

10. In making this statement Lakṣmaṇa must be supposed to have recognised Bharatha. The resemblance of face and form, the presence of Sumantra, the exclamation of Bharatha, the use of the term Ārya and his performing *Abhivādya*—these tell him that the newcomer is none other than Bharatha. At once his mind runs back to the tragic incident, and so after bestowing on him the formal benediction he wistfully looks at Sumantra and asks him, '*what is he*?' The purpose of this is quite clear. Lakṣmaṇa wants to know the attitude of Bharatha, whether he is the son of his *mother* or of his *father*. Sumantra is not slow to grasp the significance of his look and his question and hence says(10) 'This is prince Bharatha, etc. Thereby he suggests that Bharatha is *not merely* the son of his father, but the glorious descendant of the noble Ikṣvakus. Note specially the two terms *kētu* and *kumara*. These are used to emphasize that Bharatha continues but a prince and that Rama himself is the king. Lakṣmaṇa quite understands him, and now that his suspicions are all removed, he eagerly welcomes him once again with a great outburst of brotherly affection.

The statement of Sumantra is important from another point of view. The order of Rama's predecessors as given here is thus: Dilipa < Raghu < Aja < Dasaratha > Rama < Lakṣmaṇa < Bharatha < Śatrughna. This does not agree with the genealogy given by Valmiki but with that given by Kalidasa in his Raghuvamsa; and when we also bear in mind the fact that there is similarity of expressions also, the conclusion forces itself upon us that the one must have borrowed from the other. The reference *here* to have a telling effect, the same must have been described in detail elsewhere. To suppose that Kalidasa must have taken the clue

for his genealogy and description from the drama does not seem to be quite appealing. For, a poet is not justified in deviating from the Pauranic path simply and accept a *passing*, and therefore *secondary*, reference of a dramatist. This, then, necessitates the assumption that both these, the dramatist and the poet must have borrowed from a common source *or* the former must have borrowed from the latter. If no such common basis is available, then we have to accept the latter view, in which case we have to assume that Bhasa, the famous predecessor of Kalidasa is *not* the author of this drama. This subject we shall take up for consideration on a subsequent occasion.

11. Note how Lakṣmaṇa announces Bharatha. He anticipates that Rama also may have his own doubts as regards Bharatha's attitude and so describes him in such a way as to remove all doubts. For, he mentions in so many words the predominant traits of Bharatha, affection for and devotion to his brother, in the first half of the verse. Then he says in the second half that he is the true brother of Rama. The Sandhi must not be taken in its literal sense only, but as describing a general likeness not merely of form but also of spirit.

12. This statement is quite in keeping with the interpretation we have put for the above. Rama seems indeed to have doubted if Bharatha will remain true to his family traditions. For, unexpected and abundant prosperity is likely to turn the head of even the most virtuous. So the announcement comes as an agreeable surprise, which is expressed to a certain extent in his speech to Sita and subsequently in his soliloquy, '*now do I know*', etc. This is important as showing the excessive brotherly affection of Bharatha. Note the gentle satire on the rather too obedient turn of Lakṣmaṇa's mind.

13. Here is displayed the great shrewdness of Rama who in asking Sita to welcome Bharatha reveals a deep knowledge of the human mind.

14. Note this speech. The noble eulogy he heaps on Sita is worthy of himself and her.

15. Sumantra does not want to be present at once for it may interfere with the meeting of the brothers, by bringing up again the topic of the king's death.

16. Note the statement of Rama. It is such as to make Bharatha banish from his mind all doubts and fears. It puts him at ease.

17. The entry of Sumantra at this stage serves also a dramatic purpose. Though Bharatha has been put at ease, yet a subject for talk is not to be found. Bharatha cannot, indeed, begin with the object of his visit; nor can Rama ask him about it without being rude. This difficulty is obviated by the entry of Sumantra, for this enables Rama to speak about his father. Rama explains what Sumantra was to Dasaratha and this helps as to understand the position of the former.

18. Note the beautiful simile. Sumantra compares himself to a broken thread, a thread broken not once but in four places, and thus suggests that he has no interest in life, and that life has become a burden to him and hence cannot last long.

This statement of Sumantra and Sita's comment thereon pave the way for the introduction of the main subject of the scene. Thanks to the constructive

skill of our dramatist, the scene unfolds itself and the main theme come up so unobtrusively, so naturally. The sight of Sumantra puts Rama in mind of his departed father. This and the sad wail of the devoted old minister steep him in misery, and his eyes are filled with tears. Water is required to wash his face and this brings in the question of Bharatha's right to serve Rama ; this supplies a very beautiful and dramatic prelude to the main purpose of the scene. Bharatha, we know, has come there with the fullest conviction that Rama will accede to his desire either to return to the kingdom or allow him to live by his side.

19. Bharatha means by the statement that since he is the youngest of the brothers present there, it is his duty to attend upon Rama. He claims it as a right. Naturally Lakṣmaṇa acquiesces in it and allows Bharatha to do it. In his comment Rama hints at a gentle sneer at Lakṣmaṇa. Sita notes this and hence asks Rama, if Bharatha is not entitled to serve him. This question brings forth from Rama the momentous answer. The idea may be expanded thus: 'Both are entitled to serve me and I allow them both to do so, but with this difference. Lakṣmaṇa is to serve me in the forest but Bharatha in the city, *i.e.*, by ruling the kingdom.' Every impartial critic must admit that the method of introducing the main subject has been exceedingly natural and supremely happy.

20. Bharatha is shrewd enough to catch the true significance of Rama's words and hence his protest. Rama has evidently laid down a division of labour and assigned to Bharatha the work of ruling the kingdom. To carry on his work, Bharatha says, he need not be at Ayodhya, for Rama's mere name is enough to ensure the safety of the kingdom. Hence, says he, 'Here shall my body live'.

21. Note the exceedingly noble reply of Rama. Herein have we the whole secret of his character revealed. Righteousness, obedience and truth—these form the main springs of his action. Following the glorious traditions of his family, following the path of obedience and virtue, Bharatha is bound to govern the kingdom and hence, says Rama,—'How dost thou follow the ignoble path?' Bharatha, however, has no eyes or ears for this aspect of the question ; he is full of his own delicate position and of the injustice done to Rama *in his name* and *that by his mother*. The delicacy of his position is still furthe. enhanced, when Rama said in reply to Sumantra that *Kaikeyi's* desire must be fulfilled in the matter of coronation. This serves as a stab to Bharatha and his cup of misery is full and hence the beautiful pathetic strains in his statement. The appeal is so sad, so eloquent, so pathetic that it is capable of moving even a heart of stone ; no wonder, therefore, that Rama is visibly affected, but he is bound down by so many ties, that he can do nothing to ease Bharatha's sorrow-stricken heart and give him consolation. He can only pity his father and accuse the all-powerful fate. Here, then, we have indirectly the greatness of Bharatha revealed.

Rama understands that the chief source of Bharatha's sorrow is the fear that he may be misunderstood, and so he assures him in so many words that he is immensely pleased with him and that he is quite guileless. Then he tells him that he cannot return to the kingdom, since he has to maintain the honour of his

father. Bharatha grants so far and so asks him to allow him to be by his side. This request of Bharatha Rama meets by the political necessity of properly governing the kingdom. Even then he has not been able to give Bharatha entire satisfaction and he begins to murmur. Hence Rama is forced to adopt the drastic step by saying, 'I vow.' This is quite significant as showing that Rama cannot advance any conclusive arguments against Bharatha. So he more or less coerces Bharatha into obedience. Bharatha yields to this personal note, but lays down a condition to which Rama agrees. Herein, then, we have more or less a *compromise* effected by meeting half way. This will once again emphasize that Bharatha's point was very strong.

Bharatha is, however, satisfied that he has been able to gain even so much. As if afraid that Rama may go back upon his word he asks the others to be witnesses to Rama's statement. Rama also is glad that he has been able to satisfy Bharatha in such a way and that so easily. Such is the view suggested by the over-readiness that Rama shows in granting Bharatha's request.

22. Note the nature of Bharatha's request ; nothing can be humbler than this. The moderns, however, may sneer at this. We would, on the other hand, appreciate this. For, here in this request is epitomized the great lessons of brotherly devotion and affection, of modesty and humility, of respect and reverence for old traditions,—lessons which are pre-eminently Hindu, rather Indian. In spite of his legal right, of his mother's wish, of his father's order, and of his brother's desire, he does not wish to become the king of Ayodhya even during the period of Rama's exile, but prefers to be the regent of Rama's slippers ! The moral is clear to every discerning critic, unless he be utterly drowned in modern materialism. Here have we the ideal Hindu prince who places justice and righteousness even above paternal commands. And rightly does Rama applaud him. Indeed, Bharatha deserves even more.

We hope we have said enough to emphasize the more important aspects of this act. We have, indeed, no beautiful scenes, no stirring incidents, no dramatic contrivance as we have in the first or the second or the third acts. On the other hand, this act is very subdued in nature. Subdued are the characters, subdued or suppressed are their emotions, add to this the hallowed and mellowing influence of the penance grove. And no wonder we have not the stir and bustle of an action scene. This may probably account for the sense of disappointment that one may feel on a first reading.

The main interest of this act lies, as we have tried to show, in character delineation. The poet is engaged in the silent work of character unfolding by means of character and passion contrast. From this point of view, this act stands unique in the whole range of this drama.

A word more and we have finished. Can this act be successfully staged ? The sylvan beauties of the place, the dramatic entry of Bharatha, and the actual *acting* of the varied emotions in a *realistic* way—these cannot but produce abundant success on the stage.

REVIEWS.

St. Thomas, the Apostle, in India.

BY F. A. D'CRUZ, K.C.G.

HOW and to what extent the teachings of Jesus Christ spread to the uttermost corners of the globe soon after his death is a fact of the greatest importance in history, for no new gospel has so profoundly influenced the progress of mankind as the preachings of Christ. That such teachings were known in India long before the advent of the Portuguese and that the followers of this religion, though not very numerous, had been forced to confine themselves in the hospitable shelter afforded to them in some parts of the West Coast, where the rulers were more tolerant and did not pursue them with any fanatical hatred, are well admitted facts. The question therefore as to when Christianity was really introduced into India is one of great interest. The explanation that as there was a good deal of commercial intercourse between various parts of the Roman Empire and certain parts of Asia, chiefly through the West Coast, that religion might have been introduced in the course of some commercial mission, no doubt, furnishes a solution, but it leaves us still, and entirely in doubt as to by whom and when Christianity was actually introduced. Mr. D'Cruz in the interesting pamphlet which he has produced has collected together all the evidence, which goes to show, that the propagation of the gospel in India was due to St. Thomas and that his labours were not confined to Northern India as is supposed by some writers and that he came to Southern India and was martyred in St. Thomas Mount. Careful study of the facts set forth by him will prove that he has made out a good case for the conclusions he has arrived at in the book which have also the authority of one important school of writers on the subject.

The monumental work on the subject is likely to be always Dr. Medylcott's 'India and the Apostle Thomas.' But the diffusive character of the work, the incapacity of the learned bishop to assign to facts their relative value as historical evidence and his excessive reliance on tradition have, in spite of the extraordinary erudition of the author and his profound study of all existing sources, deprived the book of much of its value as a standard authority. Mr. D'Cruz has rendered a public service, therefore, in gathering together the main facts, for which it is possible to produce evidence and in keeping up the interest in a subject, which is calculated to appeal to the patriotic sentiments and rouse the enthusiasm of the Catholics in India at the present day when there is a strong movement, favoured by His Holiness the Pope and the dignitaries of the Church, for an Indian Branch of the Church Apostolic, capable of resting on its own foundations.

The practice of being accompanied by some one capable of keeping a record of expeditions undertaken by any great ruler or military commander was not common in ancient times nor were they in the habit of maintaining a diary as Julius Cæsar did. In the case of preachers of a new religion, which classed humility among the greatest of virtues, they would naturally be averse to chronicle

their own deeds, nor would they encourage much hero-worship among their followers to publish their doings in their life time. It must also be remembered that the disciples chosen were ordinary men with little or no education, who derived their inspiration from their master. It is therefore not surprising that there are no contemporary records about the work of the apostles who first preached the new doctrine which was handed down by tradition. But before the end of a century or two when memory was to fade, attempts were made to reduce such tradition to writing and we have therefore such writings as "The Doctrine of the Apostles" and of "The Acts of St. Thomas" which have been traced to the second and third centuries respectively, giving the main features of the doctrines they preached and the Mission they accomplished. As these works appear to have been written two or three centuries after the main events they chronicled occurred, there is less likelihood of their being coloured by exaggerations and inventions. Making allowance therefore for the facts that the events were not immediately chronicled and that to a certain extent, the original manuscripts may have been modified in the course of subsequent transcription and transmission, these documents establish the fact that from time immemorial it has been recognized that St. Thomas was the first apostle to bring the truths of Christianity to India. From these books and other corroborative evidence the following definite facts are ascertainable in regard to his mission to India, *viz.*, "that he came to India as the slave of a merchant and presented himself before King Gudnaphar. And there St. Thomas preached in the cities and villages and converted the king and his brother and many other people. After that he went to the city of King Mazdai. There as the result of his converting Mazdai's wife Tertia and a noble lady named Hydgonia, he was condemned to death. He was slain with spears by four soldiers on a mountain outside the city". Now the existence of a king named Gudnaphar or Gondophares has been proved by a series of coins bearing his name which have been discovered since 1834, near Beghram in the vicinity of Kabul at Pathenkote to the north-east of Amritsar in the Punjab, at Kandahar and various places in Sindh and Seistan. The date of the king and extent of his dominions are given in what is known as the Takht-i-Bhahi inscription which is now in Lahore Museum which shows that Gondophares commenced his reign in A.D. 20 or 21 and that in A.D. 46 his dominions included the territory round about Peshawar. This unexpected corroboration of certain facts mentioned in "The Acts of St. Thomas" has made most of the previous historians accept the fact that St. Thomas visited the Court of Gondophares and made converts in Northern India. Whether he visited the South or not will depend upon who the King Mazdai referred to in the Acts of St. Thomas is and where he ruled. Until recently some of the historians identified this Mazdai with king Vasudeva of Mathura, a successor of Kanishka, but there is a mass of evidence now to show that Kanishka ruled in 120 A.D. and that he reigned for 42 years and was succeeded by Huvishka in A.D. 162 who in turn was succeeded by Vasudeva in 182 and that he cannot therefore be the Mazdai referred to. Mr. Vincent Smith who originally

doubted the coming of St. Thomas to Southern India has come to the conclusion "My personal impression formed after much examination of the evidence is that the story of the martyrdom in Southern India is the better supported of the two versions of the Saint's death"—(Oxford History of India 1919, p. 126). "It must be admitted that a personal visit of the Apostle to Southern India was easily feasible in the conditions of the time and that there is nothing incredible in the traditional belief that he came by way of Socotra where an ancient Christian settlement undoubtedly existed."

Therefore there is nothing fanciful in the suggestion of Dr. Medylcott that Mazdai is a corruption of Mahadeo and that it is merely the prefix which kings in India used to attach to their names like the Divus of the Roman emperors.

A mass of facts may be adduced to identify the place of martyrdom of St. Thomas in Southern India. The local colour given to the description of the country in which he was martyred by reference to bullock carts and palanquins and the complexion of the inhabitants adds weight to the identification. It is unnecessary to go into the other large mass of facts and the proofs from tradition which Mr. D'Cruz has given in support of his conclusions. An unbiased reader will consider the following facts to be fairly established, *viz.*, that St. Thomas did visit and preach the gospel in India as known at the present day, that the Apostle visited the courts of the two kings reigning in India, one of whom may be taken for certainty to have been Gondophares in the North and the other who is named as Mazdai probably in Southern India being a contraction of Mahadeo, an epithet ordinarily assumed by kings and that he seems to have been martyred in Southern India on "a mountain outside the city" which may be identified with St. Thomas Mount and Mylapore. Space does not permit me to enumerate the arguments by which these places have been identified but there is strong testimony to support the conclusions arrived at.

There are other points brought out in Mr. D'Cruz's pamphlet such as the transfer of the remains which are of secondary importance as compared with the main facts of the Apostle's visit to and death in Southern India.

It is interesting to note how the existence of the church at St. Thomas Mount and the tradition of the martyrdom of St. Thomas seem to have impressed every European visitor to Southern India even before the advent of the Portuguese and there can be little doubt that the early days of Christianity in Southern India go back to the days of the apostles. The reconstruction of this opening epoch in the history of the Church in India from the slender materials available is an excellent illustration of how ancient books, coins, inscriptions and traditions, if properly co-ordinated, can be used to lift the veil from the past history of the world and give glimpses of remote antiquity which has been almost blotted from its pages. To those inclined to believe in the supernatural, the continuance of the memory of this saint unextinguished through all these ages will be the best proof of his supernatural mission.

P. G. D'S.

Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for the year 1922.

THE report under review marks the close of what may justly be called an epoch in the history of the Department, of which Praktanavimarsa Vichakshana Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, M.A., was the presiding authority for nearly a generation. The all-too brief review of the activity of the Department during that period gives some idea of the magnitude of the burden shouldered by Mr. Narasimhachar and his staff of enthusiastic and willing collaborators in giving to Mysore and the world at large 5,000 new records, apart from 1,000 buildings described, 4,100 coins dealt with, 1,800 palm leaf manuscripts examined, 1,250 photos taken, 120 drawings made, 100 bound volumes of transcripts containing 125 Sanscrit and Kannada works copied for the first time, general index to the *Epigrapia Carnatica*, an Architectural Portfolio illustrating notable artistic Hoysala structures of Mysore, Annual Reports, Index and interesting and useful selections of historical and social information contained in the inscriptions, revision of the Sravanabelgola Inscriptions, and last, but not by any means the least, the large-scale excavations at Talkad, Chitaldrug and Halebid, for all of which a grateful public has never been slow to give expression to their great debt of gratitude. Mr. Narasimhachar, more than any other archæologist of his generation, has, as has been repeatedly acknowledged by savants throughout the world, rendered signal services to the history of Mysore and of India particularly, in the following respects :—

(1) Hoysala art and its development.
(2) Placing of the history of the Gangas on a definite footing.
(3) Discovery of Roman silver and Andhra lead coins, as well as pottery at Chitaldrug.
(4) Discovery of Bhasa's Svapnavasavadatta which is being translated in the pages of the Journal of the Mythic Society and Pratijnayaugandharayana, a Jain work Lokavibhaga, the medical work Kalyanakaraka, Alankarasudhanidhi of Sayanacharaya.
(5) Conservation of ancient monuments.

These reports were deservedly ranked as the best in India. An ever-increasing stream of scholars throughout the world were looking forward for the reports from Mysore year after year with eager interest, not without some curiosity as to the quarter in which they were to have a surprise, for it is no strange phenomenon during these several years to have an agreeable surprise in store almost every year. Even the report of his Calcutta tour makes very interesting and instructive reading.

It is much to be regretted that the effects of the war are traceable even here, so that apart from the petty repairs, even the national undertakings of renovating the temples of the Kesava temple at Belur, the Amritesvara temple at Tarikere, and other ones were held over pending an easier financial situation.

The Mythic Society cannot be sufficiently grateful for the several valuable papers he read before the Society, and we are also very grateful to him for the kindly interest which he continues to take in us.

S. S.

Archæological Survey of India.

IN the report under review the first interesting information referred to is that of the Begam-ki-sarai on the old Badshahi highway, now badly in ruins, but which stretched formerly from Attock across India to Bengal, furnished at intervals with wells, kosminars, etc., erected to serve the needs of the traveller. The Gupta temple at Deogarh was also repaired. The practice of using ancient monuments for dwelling and office purposes still appears to continue, witness Gol Gumbaz at Bijapur. The reviewer well remembers how exactly eleven years this Christmas a party of tourists were told of this monument, because it formed the residential quarters of the district judge. Tippu Sultan's Palace which was similarly used for other purposes at our own Bangalore can now no longer be used for 'profane' purposes.

The report gives us an idea of the public support needed to carry out substantial repairs on a large scale, to conserve what should be left as a national heritage to posterity, to conduct excavations in places of world-importance. That is, again, what we have been throughout appealing for, and what we earnestly repeat here.

It is also interesting to observe that Hampe and its neighbourhood are becoming ever more interesting to the visitor, thanks largely to the efforts of Mr. Longhurst in this direction.

With genuine pleasure and gratefulness, let us turn our attention, for a while to the excavations conducted by Prof. Marshall himself at Taxila. The reader is invited to the detailed and instructive account in the report for full information, but we cannot pass on without touching on it however cursorily: Plates 8, 9, and 10 in the report refer to the unique collection of articles consisting of : copper spoons, copper goblets, silver dishes, eye of an idol made of lapis-lazuli and shell, a glass vessel, 5¼" in height, made of sea-green glass, etc., 120 copper coins of Gondophares and other Indo-Parthian kings, and a unique Gandhara statuette.

The systematic excavation of the Bhir Mound was also undertaken, leading to a further confirmation of the view that the technical skill exhibited in the jeweller's and lapidarist's arts of the Mauryan age as well as in glass-making had reached a very high pitch of excellence long before the 3rd century B.C.

The Qutb at Delhi, the Saranath excavations, the Nalanda excavations, note of M. Foucher on the sculptured slab at Ghantasala, representing the return to Kapilavastu of the horse and groom of Siddhartha after the latter's 'Great Departure' from home and worldly life, amidst the sorrow and agitation of the household, the excavation of a large apsidal-ended brick Chaitya and a stupa by Mr. Longhurst at Salihundam in the Ganjam District, the discovery of stone axe-heads in the Pakokku District in Burma in association with human remains and fossil teeth—the latter probably the remains of some extinct species of Pliocene horse, form very instructive reading indeed.

Four parts of the *Epigraphia Indica* were issued. In them we have (1) the earliest known copper-plate grant of the Gupta period, (2) the Penukonda plates of Madhava II—which would seem the only genuine copper-plates of the Ganga

kings of Gangavadi, (3) the Anbil plates of Sundara Chola, supplying a genealogy of the Cholas, (4) 13 Kanarese records, throwing light on the history and social organization of the period, 900—1200 A.D., (5) a new dynasty of kings who professed Buddhism in the 8th century, (6) Bangarh grant of Mahipala I, (7) 5 Damodarpur copper-plates, edited by Mr. Basak.

It is needless to mention the other interesting details contained in the volume before us. To hark back, if only for a moment,

the expenditure of the department for 1919-20, was Rs. 3,10,348.

Do on conservation Rs. 4,39,958.

Do from special grant Rs. 99,909.

Special charges Rs. 19,216.

This is naturally quite insufficient for the purpose on hand. The munificence of the princes and merchants in the land must come to the aid of the department. It is gratifying to know that H. E. H. the NIZAM has led the way and it is hoped that others will follow the example.

S. S.

Catalogue of the Museum of Archæology at Sanchi, Bhopal State.

SIR John Marshall's addition to the literature on Sanchi is very timely and welcome. We can but pay our tribute to the love of labour exhibited in these pages, and add that others may not be lacking at least in exploiting the same to their benefit: for that is the great reward which is looked forward to by the Director-General.

There are 21 plates deserving of careful study. A82, in plate 11, plates 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 15, etc., are interesting.

S. S.

Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 1920.

IT is very gratifying indeed to possess in the Prince of Wales Museum one of the finest collections of coins in India, which was added during the year with the purchases of Dr. Cunha and Major Whittel's collections at a cost of Rs. 9,000. The interest taken by Bombay's Governor in Indian antiquities is largely responsible for the increased grant to conserve monuments in a satisfactory manner. The work in Bijapur, especially to Gol Gumbaz, was 'super-excellent'. The report records very good conservation work carried on throughout the Presidency. We would commend to the Government the idea of archæological sub-overseers, which would place the work of conservation on a more satisfactory footing.

Part II.-A. The Andhau Inscriptions of Rudradaman I. referred to are said to be the earliest funeral stelae discovered in India, different from the sati-stones and virakals with which we are familiar in mediæval and modern times. The

reader's attention is also invited to Dr. Cunha copper-plates described in the report—space forbids us to deal with them in detail, as also the large number of Muhammadan inscriptions and coins referred to in the report.

Part III. Conservation, and Part IV. Exploration, particularly the latter part makes very fascinating and instructive reading.

The volume is profusely illustrated and forms a very valuable addition to the library.

S.S.

Tales from William Morris. (P.T.I. Book Depot.)

FIVE tales for the young retold by Miss Edgar are collected in this neat, little book. The get-up is excellent, and as regards the selections there can be no two opinions.

NOTES.

Solar Signs in Indian Literature—A Rejoinder.

I am glad that Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar has drawn attention to the importance of this question. But I am afraid he has not done me justice when he puts forward the theory about the Balance as *the* evidence on which I rely. I have brought it in only as a supplementary piece of evidence. My main argument is briefly this: The Indian Meshādi Zodiac began from the vernal equinoctial point. This was identified with the first point of the Aśvinī segment, the asterism Aśvinī itself being placed 8 degrees east of this point. The first point of Aśvinī coincided with the vernal equinox about the very close of the fifth century A.D.* This is a matter of simple calculation. There is nowhere in Indian literature any evidence to show that the Meshādi Zodiac began except at the first point of Aśvinī coinciding with the point of spring equinox. Varāha Mihira could not possibly have omitted to refer to an earlier commencement of the Meshādi if there had been one. This is significant. For both in his Brihat Samhitā (III—2) and his Panchasiddhāntikā, he had occasion to contrast the *Aśvinyādi* with the position of the asterisms in the Vedānga ecliptic and he shows such wide knowledge of writers that had preceded him, that his omission can only mean that the Meshādi did not begin anywhere except at the first point of Aśvinī. This would give us only the close of the fifth century A.D.

Now the Indo-Aryans had contact with the Greeks from the time of Alexander. The inscription of Boghaz Koi of about 1400 B.C., and the researches of Forrer and Jensen are making it more and more evident that there were Indo-Aryan settlements in Babylonia and Asia Minor.† The Babylonians had the Zodiac from before 2200 B.C. The Greeks got it from the Babylonians and had it from about 500 B.C. The question now arises, why could not the Indo-Aryans have borrowed it from these people in the second or the first millennium B.C.? A preliminary question might also be put, why could not the Indo-Aryans have invented it independently? The latter question may be considered first. It was the Babylonians who first divided the belt enclosing the sun's apparent path, into twelve parts beginning from the spring equinoctial point, grouped the stars marking each part into constellations and symbolised and designated each group on the basis of its *fanciful* resemblance to some *Zodion*—a ram, a bull, etc.; any resemblance that might have been originally fancied would cease after centuries, as the equinoxes are shifting backwards and the stars constituting each group would pass over to the next. How then could the Hindus have independently hit upon more or less similar pictures of the groups? Chance cannot

* *Vide* p. 319, Vol. XI, Mythic Quarterly.

† *Vide* Dr. Sten Konow's article as against the views of Drs. Oldenberg, Macdonell and Keith.

account for such striking similarities, when there is little in the heavens to suggest them in the first instance, much less to stereotype them in the shifting panorama. When after 2000 years Hipparchus readjusted the groups so as to suit his times, he did not dispense with the picture-signs but retained them to designate the modified groups.

These picture-signs underwent certain modifications in course of time. As for those adopted in India, the following remarks of Max Müller are worth quoting. After quoting the description of the signs as given by Satya, an Indian astronomer referred to by Varāha, he proceeds, "It will be seen that this description of the signs contains none of those indications by which Lassen endeavoured to prove that the Indian pictorial representations were not borrowed from Greece but from Babylon. He might indeed object to 'the pair, one holding a lyre, the other a club,' instead of the Greek twins, but in all other respects the Indian representatives of the twelve divisions are accurate copies of the Greek representatives, such as we find them after the first century B.C."*

It was indeed possible for the Indo-Aryans to have taken over the Zodiac from the Greeks in the fourth century B.C. or earlier still from the Babylonians, with both of whom they had some sort of conduct. But the question is, did they? If they did, why is there not the slightest vestige of an Indian Zodiac commencing with a point earlier than the first point of Aśvinī? We are therefore left to surmise that whatever contact there was between India and the countries to the further west in the centuries prior to the Christian era, it was not sufficient for a conservative and intellectually self-reliant people like the Indians to borrow and adopt an alien scheme into their system.

Facilities for closer intercourse came with free access to the ports of the western coast, due to the subjugation of Surāshtra and Mālwā about 400 A.D. From this time Indians went to Alexandria, not merely for purposes of commerce but also in pursuit of learning and Alexandrian astronomers and astrologers came to India and expounded their systems. The expounders and advocates of the Yavana methods, whether Yavanas or Alexandria-returned Indians, must have held intellectual disputes and discussions in Indian courts for several decades before the Indians, convinced of the advantages of the Yavana scheme, decided to adapt it to their earlier lunar ecliptic and incorporate it into their scheme. This is what I meant by 'clash and competition'—not any 'war, violence or disorder.' So long therefore as we do not meet with any reference in Indian literature to a Meshādi Zodiac beginning some degrees further east of the first point of Aśvinī, especially in passages that refer to the calendar, we have to hold that the Meshādi became current in India only about 500 A.D. What sort of astronomy and astrology the Indians had before the introduction of the Meshādi, I have shown in my articles on 'The Age of the Brāhmaṇas'.

I shall try to meet the other objections raised by Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar.

(1) The argument from Libra is taken from Max Müller. He is, it will be

* 'India—What can it teach us?' p. 324. 1883 edn.

admitted, no mean authority and his view still holds the ground for aught I know. Miss Clerk herself, the writer of the article on the Zodiac in the Ency. Britt. shows the greatest deference to his opinions. He writes, "But what is quite certain is this, that to the time of Eudoxos, 380 B.C., the Greeks, though they had twelve divisions (introduced by Kleostratos of Tenedos, 496 B.C.), had but eleven signs, the two divisions now represented by scorpion and balance, being represented by one sign only, the scorpion with its claws stretching across two divisions. Even Aratus and Hipparchus, 150 B.C., do not know the Balance as a separate sign, and it is first mentioned by Geminus and Varro, about the beginning of the first century B.C.

"Hence the important criterion by which Letronne destroyed the presumed fabulous antiquity of Egyptian and other Zodiacal representations, *viz.*, 'in whatever monument or book the Balance occurs as a separate sign that book or monument cannot be earlier than the first century B.C.; and we may add, the astronomy of that country, whether Egypt or India, must have been directly or indirectly under the influence of Greece."* The passage from the article 'Zodiac' in the Ency. Britt. is not entirely free from ambiguity. When, several years ago, I read this article and compared it with Max Müller's view, I understood Miss Clerk as only meaning that though Libra as a separate sign is not known to Chaldea, still it must be said to have 'a Chaldean birth-place' inasmuch as we can trace its origin back to one of the pair of scorpions found on Assyrian cylinders, later replaced by the claws and later still by Libra. This is what Ptolemy must have meant.

(2) My view of the week-days is based on Dr. Fleet (one of the greatest authorities on Indian chronology and calendar) whose view is summarised by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar.† The following extracts may be pertinent in this connection: "....................Taking Saturn as the lord of the first hour of the day and giving the lordships of the following hours in succession to the others, he would naturally be the lord of the 8th, 15th and 22nd hours of it; the lordship of the 25th hour would naturally go to the Sun and so on for the rest, so that we get the week beginning with Saturday and ending the following Friday.................. When it was adopted by the Christians of the West, the Sunday became the first by an edict of the Christian emperor Constantine in A.D. 321........... So the week began with Sunday, the Lord's Day of the Christians and ended with Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath........... It is thus clear according to him that the Hindus took over, not the astrological ‡ week beginning with Saturday but the Christian week beginning with Sunday." And earlier, ".......the week as such got fixed in the present day order in the writings of Firmicus Maternus who wrote between A.D. 334 and 350 and Paulus

* 'India What can it teach us.' 1883 edn., pp. 321 and 322, to which I have referred in my articles in the Mythic Journal.

† "Beginnings of South Indian History" pp. 304-307.

‡ I have used the word 'astronomical' instead, as in those days the two branches of study, for what they were worth, went together

Alexandrinus who wrote in A.D. 378." That Saturday was the first day of the week in Babylonian and Egyptian calendars and how it became the last day with the Jews will be seen from the following extract from Ency. Brittanica.*—"According to Dion Cassius, the Egyptian week commenced with Saturday. On their flight from Egypt, the Jews from hatred to their ancient oppressors made Saturday the last day of the week." But "the Jews as well as the early Christians had no special names for the single days but counted their number from the previous Sabbath, beginning with Sunday as the first day after the Sabbath......." † As observed in Chambers's encyclopedia, the week might have probably been *first* suggested 'as a kind of broad sub-division of the periodical month, corresponding to the four phases ‡ of the moon'; but the individual names of the week days and their original order owe their origin, as explained in all standard works, to the order of distance of what were in those days treated as planets in the geocentric view. It is this order that is mentioned expressly by Aryabhaṭa § who states that these seven are *horeśas* (lords of the horās) and *dinapas* (lords of the several week-days), beginning with Saturn in the order of their circuit.|| The order suggested by Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar to fit in the week with *ghaṭikās* is ingenious; but I am not aware of any Indian authority for it; nor would there appear to be any justification for jumping from Saturn which is the most distant, to the moon which is the nearest to the earth.

(3) Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar refers to a few works mentioning week-days. But there appears to be no reason to assign to any of them a date earlier than the fifth century, A.D. Hitopodeśa is admittedly later. Vaikhānasa Dharma Sūtra, Dr. Macdonell says, cannot be earlier than the third century, A.D. This is different from saying that the doctor assigns it to the third century. The Matsya and the Vāyu Purāṇas are held to have been revised in the fifth century A.D. I have not been able to find where Yājnavalkāya Smṛiti mentions Sunday and Monday; but its approximate date, according to Dr. Macdonell, is 350 A.D. It may well be later by many decades.¶ Kālidāsa's date is generally assigned to the fifth century, A.D.

The Tamils (like the Aryans of North India) had opportunities of adopting the solar-signs and the week-days from Babylonia and other western countries in the pre-Christian centuries. But the use of the Sanskrit technical terms like *vāra* in Silappadhikāram and *idaba* (vṛishabha) in Maṇimekhalai would show that these works were written after the Yavana teachings had drifted down to the South from Northern India. B. V. KAMESVARA AIYAR, M.A., M.R.A.S.

---

* Ninth edition, Vol. IV, p. 665.

† Chambers's Encyclopedia—1892 edn., article 'week'. This is what we find in the 'Gospels.'

‡ The Vedic Śakhas, as I have shown in my articles on the 'Age of the Brahmaṇas,' recognize only three *parvans*, *śukla* 8 not being noticed.

§ Verses 15 and 16, Kala—Kriya pada.

|| शनैश्चराद्या यथाक्रमं शीघ्राः

¶ *Cf.* The expression 'Surya-samkramah' in śloka 217, adhy. I, which is generally interpreted as meaning 'the sun's entry into each of the twelve signs.'

We have very great pleasure in recording our thanks to Prof. G. J. Dubreuil of Pondicherry, for adding to our stock of knowledge of Pallava history. Pallava Painting is quite a new subject, as distinct from the architecture and sculpture of the Pallavas. We are told that the frescoes at Sittannavasal, near Pudukota are remarkable artistically, and better than even their sculpture,—much as we have learnt to admire and appreciate the rock treasures at Mahabalipuram and elsewhere. The civilization of the Pallavas during the time of Mahendravarman I is now complete, what with the information we have acquired about dancing, music, and painting?

Books, etc., purchased or presented during the quarter ending December 1922.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington—

The differentiation of mankind into Racial types by Professor Arthur Keith.
The Races of Russia—Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection, Vol. 69, No. 11.
A constitutional league of peace in the Stone Age of America—The leagues of the Iroquois and its constitution by J. N. B. Hewitt.
Report of the Smithsonian Institution for the year ending 30th June 1921.

Director-General of Archæology, Simla—

Annual report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1919-20.
Catalogue of the Museum of Archæology at Sanchi, Bhopal State.

Superintendent of Archæology, Poona—

Progress report of the Archæological Survey ol India, Western Circle for 1919-20.

Director of Archæology, Mysore—

Mysore Archæological Report for 1922.

Director of Archæology, Hyderabad—

Archæological Report of the H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, 1919-20.
Hyderabad Archæological Series No. 5—Munirabad Stone Inscription.

Superintendent of Archæology, Trivandrum—

Annual report of the Archæological Department of the Travancore State for 1920-21.

Superintendent of Archæology, Kashmir.

Report of the Kashmir Archæological Department for the year 1975 (Vikram Era)

Registrar, Calcutta University—

Reports of the two committees appointed by the Senate of that University.

Registrar, Mysore University—

University calendar for the year 1922-23, Vols. I and II.

Assam Government—

"The Thota Nagas" by J. P. Mills, I.C.S.

Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta—

Memoirs of the 'Ismailitica' by W. Ivanow.
Zoological results of a tour in the Far East by N. Anandale.

By Purchase—

Ancient Indian Historical Tradition by F. E. Pargitor.

Presented by—

Mr. V. R. Thyagaraja Iyer,—

Journal of the Karnataka Sahitya Parishad—

Vol. VI, Nos. 3 and 4.

Vol. VII, Nos. 1 and 2.

Mr. K. G. Sankara Iyer, Kumbakonam.—

"Senthamil" Vol. XX, Nos. 6, 7 and 8.

"Manonmaniyam" by P. Sundaram Pillay.

"Mr. D. Banerji's date for Kalidasa."

Mr. Purnendu Narayana Sinha (author)

"The Chandi or the Great Plan."

Dr. Alfred Hay, M. I. C. E.

Rambles and recollections by Seemen, Vols. I and II.

A History of the British Military Transactions in Indostan by Robert Orme, Vols. I, II and III.

The Land of the Veda by Rev. Peter Percival.

Haunts and hobbies of an Indian Official by Thornhill.

Sketches of the Hindus.

A comprehensive history of India by Henry Beveridge, Vols. I and II.